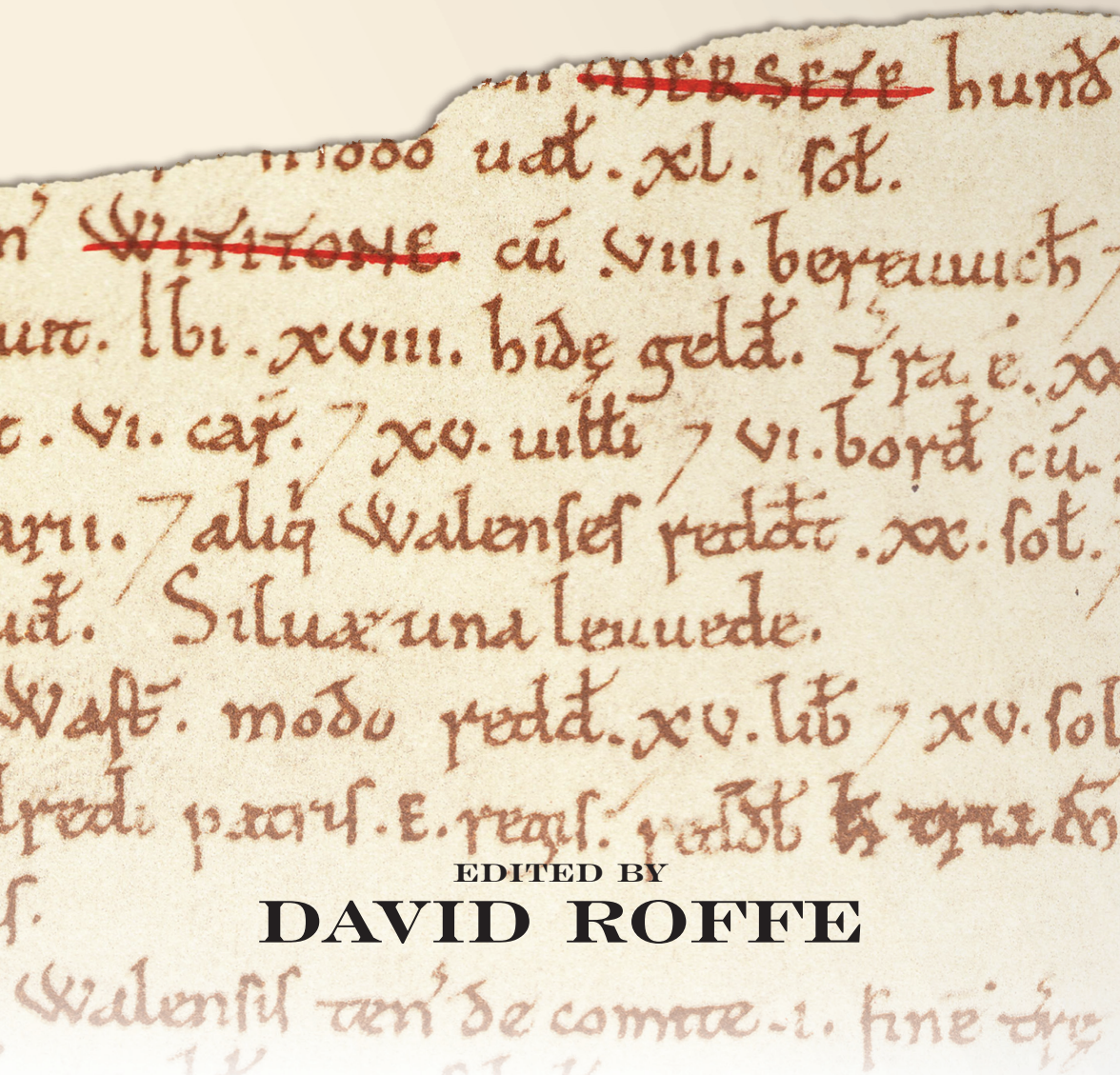


THE
English
AND THEIR LEGACY
900-1200

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ANN WILLIAMS



EDITED BY

DAVID ROFFE

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THE ENGLISH AND THEIR LEGACY, 900–1200
ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ANN WILLIAMS



The honorand, seen here in her natural habitat.
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THE ENGLISH AND THEIR LEGACY, 900–1200

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ANN WILLIAMS

Edited by
David Roffe

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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First published 2012
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978 1 84383 794 7

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

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Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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Publication of this volume was made possible by a generous grant
from the Marc Fitch Fund

PREFACE

The essays presented in this volume in honour of Ann Williams reflect the wide interests of a scholar who has changed our understanding of the society of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. Appropriately enough, Ann began her academic career with a translation and study of the Dorset folios of Domesday Book for the Victoria History of the county. In this way she joined a line of distinguished Domesday scholars which stretched back to J. H. Round and Sir Frank Stenton, the external examiner for her thesis. Thus was inaugurated an engagement with a fundamental source for eleventh-century history that has persisted to the present day. Her contribution to its study has been no less important than her predecessors'. When a state-of-the-art facsimile of Domesday Book was proposed in the early 1980s, along with a new translation and commentary, Ann was a natural choice as editor-in-chief. From 1984 to 2000, with Robert Erskine and then the late Geoffrey Martin as general editors, she oversaw the production of what is now the standard edition of Domesday Book published by Alecto Historical Editions. From the start, Ann imposed a tight editorial structure on the new translation which facilitated a higher degree of consistency than had ever been achieved before. Previous editions had tended to represent personal names as they were presented by scribes who had adopted a programme of Latinization or who simply did not understand what they were reading. Ann, by contrast, insisted on identifying and using their OE and Norman forms wherever possible. Likewise, she oversaw a review of the place-name evidence and standardized their representation. Her instinct was rightly to retain technical terms such as 'demesne' and 'sake and soke', but she strove to remove ambiguity. For example, she adopted 'villan' for 'villein' to dispel any confusion with later evidence. By and large, Latin words are translated in the same way throughout. With the aid of comprehensive indices, the result is an unparalleled translation.

Ann had a lighter editorial touch with her army of county editors. The Victoria County History introductions to the county folios were written to a formula, addressing the issues of hidation, the Norman settlement, post-Conquest lordship and the like, which were current in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They remain monuments of Domesday scholarship, and Ann decided there was no need to rehearse their conclusions. Her decision was a liberation. Scholars were freed to pursue the subjects that interested them and the result is a rich collection of insights into eleventh-century society. There are to be found novel analyses of pre-Conquest lordship, the nature of the Norman settlement, the Domesday landscape, and much, much more. In the later volumes Ann was even happy to entertain radically new ideas about the Domesday inquest and the making of Domesday Book, sometimes in the face of opposition from other members of the editorial board. The county volumes were published with a volume of more general studies and together they make a contribution to Domesday history that exceeds that of the publications that came out of the official celebrations of the Domesday inquest in both 1886 and 1986.

To be a modern-day Farley is no mean feat. However, unlike some scholars, Ann has never been a Domesday anorak. The quicksands of Domesday studies have the

reputation of sucking people in and never releasing them. Ann has always kept her head above the mire. As interested as she has been in the technicalities, she has never lost sight of the fact that Domesday is all about people. This is where her principal research interests have always lain. Her early work on Dorset led her on to study local pre-Conquest families in Wessex and then beyond. In a steady stream of articles she teased out techniques for identifying individuals and families in Domesday Book and pre-Conquest sources in lapidary studies that made them speak, often for the first time. Some measure of her success is her massive contributions to *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* and the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. That is not to say, though, that she is a genealogist alone. The lives of Anglo-Saxons have an intrinsic interest to her, but first and foremost she has been concerned with how they interacted within the local, regional, and national societies of Anglo-Saxon England. *England before Domesday* is a case in point. It eschews the abstractions of administrative history on the one hand and the numbing detail of genealogical succession on the other to get inside pre-Conquest England. How power and influence were brokered has been an over-riding theme of all her work. Ann's methods, if not the wider prosopographical programme to which she subordinated them, are now widely applied. That they are not always acknowledged is testimony to how central they have become to the study of Anglo-Saxon societies.

Her mastery of local detail and understanding of politics in a face-to-face society have in their turn allowed her to write nuanced biographical and general studies. *Æthelred the Unready: the Ill-Counselled King* is an account of a king at a crucial turning point in Anglo-Saxon England that looks at the dynamics of power in the localities as well as the centre. *Kingship and Government in pre-Conquest England, c. 500–1066* is equally incisive: it distils a mass of scholarship within its concise compass and is as conspicuous on the shelves of specialists as it is on reading lists of undergraduates. Above all, Ann's *The English and the Norman Conquest* shines a completely new light on a crucial stage in English history by charting the fate of a doomed elite, the survival of English minsters in a Norman world, and, above all, the re-possession of an English history in the twelfth century as part of a process of forging an English identity for a diverse group of peoples. Since its publication in 1995 the book has become a classic of medieval scholarship.

Ann's interests and her achievement are reflected in the essays by her students, colleagues and friends that follow. William Aird examines the many problems that historians encounter in reconstructing lives from pre-Conquest sources. He comes to the perhaps surprising conclusion that in some respects the task is easier than for more fully documented modern lives. Detailed prosopographical analyses figure in three of the papers. Lucy Marten examines the Swart family whose core patrimony was situated in Suffolk and shows how the family used this base to ease themselves into regional positions of influence. The charter evidence and Domesday Book suggest that the mainspring of their power was land. However, elsewhere Swarts and Swartings were moneyers. In a paper on minting in the late tenth to early twelfth centuries Hirokazu Tsurushima shows that those in Kent were of equal status to the Swarts of Suffolk: they were king's thegns with a considerable presence in the shire and beyond. Valentine Fallan concentrates on the post-Conquest period, examining the prosopographical import of Wace's account of the 'companions of William the Conqueror' for an understanding of the politics of cross-Channel inheritance in the Angevin take-over of Normandy and England.

Local issues are tackled by Vanessa King. She examines the early history of Bredon in Worcestershire and describes its transformation from a minster church into an episcopal manor, illuminating the many ways in which churches intensified

their local influence in the tenth century. Pamela Taylor addresses the thorny problem of the origins and development of hundreds and shires in a study that starts out with Edmonton in Middlesex. She shows just how inadequate are received accounts of the process in an area of competing interests and families, underlining the deficiencies of simple administrative history for an understanding of the dynamics of institutions. Charles Insley broadens the canvas to the Midlands and the North. There the progressive English conquest of the tenth century had to come to grips with a hostile and, after 954, an unstable Northumbria. The result was the emergence of what was effectively a marcher society across the country from Cheshire to Lincolnshire which fashioned the distinctive society and institutions of the area. Other changes with long-term consequences were also afoot at the same time. Simon Keynes, in a paper on the burial of King Æthelred II in St Paul's, reveals a significant shift in the centre of gravity of the kingdom of England from Winchester and Wessex to London.

Sally Harvey addresses high political matters in the mid eleventh century. She revisits the events of 1051, a turning point in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and puts forward the suggestion that what Eustace of Boulogne had to say to King Edward, unspecified in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, was related to a species of monetary union with the county of Boulogne. The back plot was the machinations against the Godwine family in what is a challenging insight in a crisis that proved to be a defining moment in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The English after the Conquest figure in a number of papers. Katharine Keats-Rohan, in a radical new reading of the Bayeux Tapestry, argues that this unique embroidery embodies an English account of the Norman Conquest that, far from reflecting Norman historiography, helped to shape it. She thereby takes the project of the *Historia Anglorum*, the desire to understand the Conquest and place it into the broader context of English history, back into the late 1060s. David Bates also takes up the theme of the *Historia Anglorum* in showing that the project was also shared by Robert of Torigny writing in the early to mid twelfth century in Normandy. The awareness of an English past and the continuity of English history is also reflected in Emma Mason's account of the cult of Earl Waltheof in post-Conquest England. More prosaically, David Roffe looks at continuity of English tenures and families into the thirteenth century. In a detailed study of the Lincolnshire evidence, he argues that the number of surviving families and their status have been under-estimated because, holding in sokage, they do not appear in the predominantly feudal documentation of the twelfth and thirteen centuries. He then shows how they were slowly absorbed into post-Conquest feudal societies to emerge in the later medieval period as minor county gentry.

Finally, two papers deal with social and political culture. Mark Hagger examines the role of food in the mediation of social and political relations in the eleventh and twelfth centuries through an examination of the feasting scene in the Bayeux Tapestry. Stephen Church concentrates on official culture. He discusses the origins of the Exchequer cloth and shows how the practices of a medieval English department of state persisted almost until the modern day. The 'Englishness' that was forged in the twelfth century was destined in many ways to define the consciousness of a people and then a nation.

In their pre-occupation with identity and the interplay of peoples and communities in a multi-ethnic world, all of these papers in one way or another take inspiration from Ann's work. They are presented to her by their authors as a token of their admiration, esteem and affection.

The editor is grateful to all those institutions and libraries which have granted permission to the various authors for the reproduction of illustrations and to the authors themselves for their forbearance in the long process of editing. Thanks are due to Judith Everard and Ryan Lavelle for help and advice in editing, to June Strong and Cath D'Alton for preparing figures, to Steve Flemming at Workhaus for designing the cover, and above all, to Caroline Palmer, Rohais Haughton, and Anna Robinette at Boydell and Brewer for the production of this volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Archives départementales
Add.	Additional [Charters]
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cited by year (corrected in square brackets if necessary) and manuscript; unless otherwise stated the edition is <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols, Oxford 1892–9
ASC, ed. Swanton	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. and ed. M. J. Swanton, London 1996
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
Attenborough	<i>The Laws of the Earliest English Kings</i> , ed. F. L. Attenborough, Cambridge 1922
BL	British Library
<i>Book of Fees</i>	<i>Liber Feodorum: the Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill</i> , 3 vols, HMSO 1920–31
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i> , ed. J. Morris and others, 34 vols, Phillimore, London 1974–86, followed by abbreviated county
<i>Dialogus de Scaccario</i>	<i>Richard fitzNigel, Dialogus de Scaccario: the Dialogue of the Exchequer</i> , ed. and trans. E. Amt, and <i>Constitutio Domus Regis: Disposition of the King's Household</i> , ed. and trans. S. D. Church, Oxford 2007
Dugdale, <i>Monasticon</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , new ed. by H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols, London 1817–30
Eadmer, <i>HN</i>	Eadmer, <i>Historia Novorum in Anglia, in Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, et Opuscula Duo: De Vita Sancti Anselmi et Quibusdam Miraculis Ejus</i> , ed. M. Rule, RS 81, 1884
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHD</i> , I	<i>English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn, London 1979
<i>EHD</i> , II	<i>English Historical Documents, 1042–1189</i> , ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, London 1953
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , ed. C. T. Clay, 10 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935–65
GDB	Great Domesday Book, followed by folio number (unqualified signifies recto, number and v signifies verso), cited from <i>Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi</i> , 2 vols, London 1783, I, or from <i>Great Domesday Book: Library Edition</i> , ed. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, London 1986–92; followed by <i>DB</i> , the abbreviated county name, and entry number
Harmer, <i>AS Writs</i>	F. E. Harmer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Writs</i> , 2nd edn, Stamford 1989
HMSO	Her (His) Majesty's Stationery Office
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>

Huntingdon	Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum: the History of the English People</i> , ed. and trans. D. Greenway, Oxford 1996
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
John of Worcester	<i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk. 11-III, Oxford 1995–8
Jumièges	<i>The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and trans. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols, Oxford 1992–5
LBD	Little Domesday Book, followed by folio number (unqualified signifies recto, number and v signifies verso), cited from <i>Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi</i> , 2 vols, London 1783, II, or from <i>Little Domesday Book: Library Edition</i> , ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, London 2000; followed by DB, the abbreviated county name, and entry number
Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Pontificum</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: the History of the English Bishops</i> , ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols, Oxford 2007
Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum: the History of the English Kings</i> , ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford 1998–9
Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella</i> ODNB	William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella: the Contemporary History</i> , ed. E. King, trans. K. R. Potter, Oxford 1998 <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , usually cited from online edition (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/), with article number and date accessed
Orderic	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols, Oxford, 1969–80
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols, Paris 1844–65
Poitiers	<i>The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers</i> , ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall, Oxford 1998
PR	<i>Pipe Roll</i> , followed by year, Pipe Roll Society
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew (now The National Archives)
Regesta	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154</i> , ed. H. W. C. Davis and others, 4 vols, Oxford 1913–69
Regesta, Bates	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066–1087)</i> , ed. D. Bates, Oxford 1998
Robertson	<i>The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I</i> , ed. A. J. Robertson, Cambridge 1925
RS	Rolls Series (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls)
S	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , London 1968
s.a.	<i>sub anno, annis</i> ('under the year, years')
TNA	The National Archives
TRE	<i>tempore regis Eadwardi</i> ('in King Edward's time'), i.e. 1066
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TRW	<i>tempore regis Willelmi</i> ('in King William's time'), i.e. 1086

*VCH**The Victoria History of the Counties of England* [county name], in progressWace, trans.
Burgess*The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*,
trans. G. S. Burgess, Woodbridge 2004Whitelock,
*AS Wills**Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, Cambridge
1930[form 1066 x 1087 indicates an uncertain date within the
range]

ANN WILLIAMS: A PERSONAL APPRECIATION

S. D. Church

Ann Williams is first and foremost an historian of Anglo-Saxon England. She is also an expert on Domesday Book; that has come about because the text of Domesday offers us a window of incomparable detail into the world of eleventh-century England. Domesday was an accidental subject for Ann. As an undergraduate, she had studied with R. R. Darlington at Birkbeck and had done his special subject on the Age of Bede. The subject of King Offa attracted her attention for a doctoral thesis, but Darlington thought better of that and persuaded her to do an edition of the Dorset Domesday; her future as an historian of the eleventh century was thus determined. Her training was rigorous: Darlington expected his full-time research students to see him weekly, with work, and woe-betide the student who failed that demanding schedule. In 1964, Francis Wormald and Sir Frank Stenton examined the thesis, and, in 1968, it appeared as a volume in the Victoria County History series under the general editorship of R. B. Pugh.

Appointed to a lectureship at the North Western Polytechnic in 1965, Ann taught a succession of undergraduates in her own inimitable and charismatic style. Ann's teaching was not limited to the lecture hall or the seminar room, however. I arrived at the Polytechnic of North London in the autumn of 1984 in the midst of a dispute over the admittance of a National Front activist to his Philosophy lectures, and a few weeks into our course, the Kentish Town site was occupied and all formal classes ceased for the remainder of the term. Undeterred, Ann offered to run her seminars at her Muswell Hill home. There, in her book-lined first-floor study, we sat and examined the subject through the primary sources – every class had as its focus the sources rather than the works of modern scholars. Ann conducted the discussion, cigarette in hand (though never inhaling), sometimes reading out loud the original text capturing, in the words of one of my contemporaries, the 'lyrical and evocative Old English sounds'. After the seminar, we would repair to the pub to continue the discussion over a glass or three of beer. It was in these first months that firm friendships were formed, and it was then that we learned to love the study of the Middle Ages, a love that none of us has lost.

The time spent in Ann's Muswell Hill house also taught us that for Ann the study of the past does not stop on the hour and nor does it stop on leaving the formal place of learning. Ann even put on her own extra-mural classes in Old English for those of us who wanted to get closer to some of the sources we studied, and she led field trips to sites of historical interest, including a week-long excursion during the summer vacation to the north-east of England where we explored the landscape of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. She took time out to introduce those of her students who were interested to the Institute of Historical Research. There we could go to the Earlier Middle Ages seminar each Wednesday and we could, surreptitiously, use the Institute's library and the Senate House Library of the University of London. For students from the inadequately resourced Polytechnic, this illicit access to books and journals was a lifeline, and the weekly opportunity to attend research seminars provided an incomparable educational experience.

Ann's published output while she was at the Polytechnic consisted of some extremely important and influential articles, but no single monograph. For that contribution, we had to wait for Ann to take early retirement, which she did in 1988. The loss to her students was great, but the gain to the wider historical profession was greater. The subsequent years have proved remarkably productive and, during that time, Ann has established a reputation as one of the leading scholars in the world of eleventh-century studies. Her first project was to act as editor-in-chief for the facsimile edition of Great Domesday Book (later to be followed by Little Domesday Book), which she edited in conjunction with Robert Erskine and, latterly, with Geoffrey Martin. She had joined the project early in its inception in 1986 and saw it through to the end.¹ While others sought to apply computer technology to help us understand Domesday Book, Ann returned to the eternal scholarly verities of revealing the text in its entirety for examination by the wider academic community. The facsimile was undertaken by Alecto Historical Editions with the avowed aim of enabling palaeographers to examine the text of Domesday without disturbing the original manuscript. Ann organized the critical apparatus that accompanied the facsimile – including the first standardized translation and indices of the whole Domesday text – and she commissioned a series of essays that make their own unique contribution to our understanding of the text and the world that produced it.

Ann's interest in the text of Domesday stemmed from the fact that it opens up late Old English society to detailed investigation. Her greatest book-length exploration of that subject was published in 1995. It is an extraordinary testament to the depth of Ann's scholarship, unveiling in minute detail (but with a view to the broader picture) the fate of the English after the calamitous year of 1066: it is a monograph that will stand the test of time because Ann commands the detail of Domesday Book like few other scholars ever have or, indeed, now do. The title of Ann's masterpiece makes plain where the author's debt lay: *The English and the Norman Conquest* is an *homage* to R. Allen Brown's *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*.² Allen was an inspirational figure in Ann's career: it was he who encouraged her to begin writing again after the years of silence that followed the publication of the VCH volume (the first product of her renewed scholarly output was published in the proceedings of Allen's own creation, the Battle Conference). It was Allen who put Ann in the way of the Alecto edition of Domesday Book. And it was Allen who encouraged Ann to write about the English after 1066. In Ann's own words, Allen was the 'best of lords ... into whose *comitatus* [she] was readily accepted', and his kindness and support gave Ann the confidence to resume her research and writing career to the lasting benefit of us all.

Ann left her foray into textbook writing to a point in her life when she had read enough and had reflected enough to tackle the genre with subtlety and intelligence. Ann said of her *Kingship and Government in Anglo-Saxon England* that she had written the book that she wanted to have to hand when she was teaching undergraduates. As someone who teaches undergraduates this subject, I can assure her that my undergraduates love this book. James Campbell wished 'that the publishers could persuade the author to produce a new version, at least three times as long and provided with an equal, essential complement of footnotes', comparing Ann's achievement not to Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*, which the press had wilfully shorn of footnotes, but to J. H. Ramsay's 1898 *Foundations of England*, for the

¹ H. Pearson, 'The Alecto Domesday Project', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates, London 2001, 151–8.

² 1969; 2nd edn, Woodbridge 1985.

quality of its critical apparatus. The footnotes that Ann provided for this book took Campbell aback: 'seventy pages of really good notes to a hundred and fifty pages of text'.³ He should not have been surprised. Ann's footnotes are legendary, giving the reader access to the very thought processes that Ann undergoes as she picks her way through the evidence to reveal her construct of the past: they make her work indispensable to us all.

Two books have followed: the first, *Æthelred the Unready: The Ill-Counselled King*, was on a subject that she had taught as a special at the Polytechnic. The book is characteristically written from the contemporary sources and provides a masterful and up-to-date summary of current thinking on Æthelred (75 pages of notes to accompany 150 pages of text). The most recent book is a wonderful summation of Ann's hard-won knowledge about late Anglo-Saxon England. *The World before Domesday* (68 pages of notes to 146 pages of text) is a quite extraordinary achievement. In it, Ann distills a lifetime's understanding concerning the structure of Anglo-Saxon aristocratic society and her work provides an essential reference point for those interested in aristocratic societies in general. The book is not, as one reviewer noticed, 'an all-encompassing study of aristocratic family life'; that lack is in keeping with the woman. In the beauty parade that was the first week of the first year at the Polytechnic, her tactic was to appear at the appointed hour with, in one hand, a cigarette and lead (connected to a good-natured, shaggy, grey-haired wolfhound named, of course, Offa), and, in the other hand, a drink. Surrounded by her own *comitatus* of current students, Ann proceeded to inform us that her course on the Dark Ages was about elites and that it was not about those on the margins of medieval society; we were told that if anyone wanted to study such mundane things – and did not like dogs, smoking or alcohol – s/he should kindly do someone else's course. With that, she left the room, pulled along by Offa, and followed closely by her attendants. We were enthralled. Anyone who could sell her subject like that, we thought, ought to be good value. Almost without exception, we signed up for Ann's Dark Ages: a decision that none of us ever regretted. This bohemian and unique woman instantly won our hearts and by that she could begin the important business of winning our minds. It was an object lesson in how to catch an audience by seemingly being frivolous while in reality being anything but frivolous. Ann's teaching was as rigorous as Darlington's had been and she drove her students hard. Yet she wore her learning lightly and so persuaded us to explore early medieval European history with her when a more earnest approach would have failed to attract our attention. It was exceptionally clever, and I do not think that any of us – perhaps not even her colleagues – realized at the time quite how clever it was. She ensured that medieval history thrived at the Polytechnic while some others were killing the subject with humourless tedium.

What unites those who have agreed to contribute to this volume in honour of Ann Williams is our love of this remarkable scholar and our respect for a woman of kindness and integrity who, with generosity of spirit, has helped each and every one of us to better understand the past we seek to uncover. Just one example of that kindness might suffice. In 1996, one of her former students, John Pullen-Appleby, wrote an undergraduate dissertation on the Anglo-Saxon ship-fyrd and he was determined to work further on the subject. He did not sign up for a PhD, but toiled away on his own out of love for the subject and, guided by Ann for the best part of another

³ EHR 115, 2000, 681–2.

decade, he eventually produced a scholarly significant book.⁴ Ann did not have to help John, yet she gave up large amounts of time to answer his queries, to read his drafts, and to help him to realize his ambition. I cannot think of many scholars who would so selflessly have undertaken such a task. Ann is a remarkable teacher and scholar; and she is a constant friend to all of us who share her love of the past.

⁴ *English Sea Power c. 871 to 1100*, published in 2005 by Anglo-Saxon Books, Frithgarth, Norfolk.

LIFE-WRITING AND THE ANGLO-SAXONS¹

William M. Aird

Among the thousands of names in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, there are a number of memoranda, including a late tenth-century record of the manumission of a group of slaves:²

[Geatfleda] has given freedom for the love of God and for the need of her soul: namely Ecceard the smith and Ælfstan and his wife and all their offspring, born and unborn, and Arcil and Cole and Ecgferth [and] Ealdhun's daughter, and all those people whose heads she took [that is, accepted them as slaves] for their food in the evil days. Whoever perverts this and robs her soul of this, may God Almighty rob him of this life and of the heavenly kingdom, and may he be accursed dead and alive ever into eternity. And also she has freed the men whom she begged from Cwaespatric, namely Ælfwold and Colbrand and Ælfsige and his son Gamal, Ethelred Tredewude and his stepson Uhtred, Aculf and Thurkil and Ælfsige. Whoever deprives them of this, may God Almighty and St Cuthbert be angry with them.

It is tempting to assign this manumission to the troubled reign of Æthelred II, the subject of a biography by Ann Williams, published in 2003.³ That said, the 'evil days' mentioned may have been the result of famine induced by natural disaster, rather than the consequences of the return of the Viking armies in Æthelred's reign.⁴

Leaving aside the name of God, the memorandum names seventeen individuals, including Cuthbert, the Northumbrian saint and patron of the Church of Durham, who had died in 687, Geatfleda, the woman in whose name the manumission was made, and fifteen named men.⁵ In addition, there are two other women, whose identities are established with reference to their relationship with men, namely the wife of Ælfstan and Ealdhun's daughter. The unnamed children of Ælfstan and his wife, together with all their descendants, are also referred to, as well as putative individuals who might seek to subvert the terms of Geatfleda's provisions.

¹ I am very grateful to David Roffe for inviting me to contribute to this celebration of Ann Williams' considerable contribution to medieval scholarship. Throughout my career she has shown me such personal kindness, support, and academic generosity that this essay can go only a very small way to acknowledge it.

² *The Anglo-Saxon World: an Anthology*, trans. K. Crossley-Holland, Oxford 1999, 262. The manumission occurs in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, London, BL, MS Cotton Domitian A.vii, f.43, and was edited by H. H. E. Craster, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series 1, 1925, 189–98 at 189. For the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, see *The Durham Liber Vitæ and its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason, Woodbridge 2004. A digital facsimile is now available (*The Durham Liber Vitæ*, ed. D. Rollason and L. Rollason, The British Library, London 2007).

³ A. Williams, *Æthelred the Unready: the Ill-Counselled King*, London and New York 2003.

⁴ For example, the 'great murrain' – a disease originally affecting cattle, but by extension used as a general term for plague – which first struck in 986 (ASC C, D, E, s.a. 986; *EHD*, I, no. 1).

⁵ *EHD*, I, no.150. There Whitelock points out that there is some doubt as to whether the name 'Geatfleda' belongs to this manumission or is the last entry in a later list of names written across the start of the memorandum.

This one memorandum of manumission thus invites the historian to consider the biographies of nearly two dozen people and the relationships that bound them together in tenth-century Northumbria. The memorandum provides evidence of a time of hardship, perhaps induced by famine that forced Ælfstan, his wife, and their companions to offer themselves as slaves in return for food.⁶ This brief historical source suggests that Geatfleda was a compassionate woman, who not only released her own slaves, but also secured the manumission of those held by Cwaespatic. Whether drawing this inference about this woman's character is justified would need further supporting evidence and there might be alternative readings of the material. For example, it might be suggested that the motives that prompted this slave-owner to liberate these people were merely conventional and entirely selfish, geared towards ensuring personal salvation, and nothing whatever to do with compassion for the suffering of her slaves. Indeed, the idea of manumitting slaves may have come from the Community of St Cuthbert and so what is presented as Geatfleda's pious generosity might in fact be the result of the imposition of moral or financial pressure by the Church. Whatever the case might be, the names of the individuals mentioned in this record of manumission lend discussions of Anglo-Saxon slavery a human dimension and provide a tantalizing glimpse into the dramatic lives of a group of people living in Northumbria around a thousand years ago. The fact that these people are named in this document has memorialized them, which, after all, was the original purpose of the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, but this has also made them historical characters, although nothing else is known of their lives. We will probably never know what these people looked like, for there are no physical descriptions and no identifiable burials from which to excavate human remains and reconstruct physiognomies.⁷ Geatfleda, or whoever it was in whose name the manumission was issued, together with the wife of Ælfstan and Ealdhun's daughter, along with the others mentioned in the manumission, come fleetingly into historical focus and are remembered because medieval scribes took the trouble to record their names. It is ironic that perhaps the most important figure in this case-study remains anonymous, for there is no clue as to the identity of the scribe who wrote the memorandum into the Durham *Liber Vitæ*.⁸

The frustration for the medieval historian is that for many of these named individuals there is no other information. We have, in effect, names without biographies. For this reason it is often seen as futile for the historian to attempt to represent the medieval past through the medium of historical biography. Yet, there is something compelling about life-writing and, whether they acknowledge the fact or not, the majority of historians include illustrative biographical material in their accounts of the Middle Ages. The personality and motivations of historical figures are confidently discussed and only occasionally is it acknowledged that there might be some difficulty in judging and representing aspects of the interior life of individuals through an examination of their remembered deeds. This problematic aspect of the biographical genre Ann Williams herself has acknowledged in her study of Æthelred

⁶ On slavery in Anglo-Saxon England, see D. A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England: from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge 1995. For an alternative reading of the evidence, see D. R. Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland, 800–1200*, Leiden 2009.

⁷ R. Fleming, 'Bones for Historians: Putting the Body back into Biography', in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, 29–48; cf. P. Squatriti, 'Personal Appearance and Physiognomies in Early Medieval Italy', *JMH* 14, 1988, 191–202; C. E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England*, Woodbridge 2004.

⁸ The rise of monasteries as repositories of memory is explored in P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton 1994.

the Unready: 'Forming judgements of character and motive from recorded actions is a dangerous hobby, which has not stopped anyone from trying.'⁹ The confident and perhaps unconscious biographical positivism of other historians, even those not writing historical biographies, may be strikingly contrasted with the increasing number of apologetic prefaces and forewords offered by those who attempt life-writing.¹⁰ While recognizing the difficulties and limitations of the biographical form, writers of medieval lives continue to assert that there is something to be gained from an approach that seeks to present a medieval life, or medieval lives, in the round with all their attendant contingencies.¹¹

For some historians biography is most definitely not history.¹² Yet it might be asked what is expected of biography and does its presentation of the past differ in any substantial way from more 'respectable' forms of historical writing? There is a suggestion that biography has pretensions to comprehensiveness, at least as far as the life of an individual is concerned, whereas 'history proper' recognizes the limitations of human agency and the influence of societal structures and movements that are beyond the capacity of the individual to influence or affect. There are still historical biographies which seem to rehearse the lives of their subjects in real time, but it might be asked whether the perceived failings of these works are any different from comparably weighty tomes of more conventional history. In each case, the selection of evidence and decisions as to what is, and what is not, significant might be the problem.

It is the intention here to offer a number of observations about the practice of writing medieval lives.¹³ First, it will be suggested that one of the fundamental difficulties that modern biographers of medieval subjects face is not so much that the sources they have are fragmentary or intractable – that comes with the territory – but that even when medieval authors set out to write about the lives of individuals they did so with a set of assumptions about their subjects that are in conflict with modern constructs of personality and developmental psychology. It is also suggested that the fragmentary nature of the medieval sources may, in fact, be more helpful in bringing us closer to lived experience than the fuller personal archives of modern subjects, which seem to offer the possibility of a comprehensive view of an individual life. In this case more does not necessarily mean better. In both instances the biographer must still use his or her historical judgement in order to present what is seen as significant. The historian must construct meaning from fragments much in the way that, in the act of remembering, an individual selects significant details from their past and structures memory in order to serve the needs of the immediate context.

⁹ Williams, *Aethelred the Unready*, xi. As well as co-editing (with A. P. Smyth and D. P. Kirby) *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain: England, Scotland and Wales, c. 500–c. 1050*, London 1991, Ann Williams has contributed an impressive total of thirty-four biographical essays to *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/search/results/contributors.jsp?contributorId=32618>, accessed 09/01/2012).

¹⁰ A recent example is the discussion by Sarah Foot in her biography, *Athelstan, the First King of England*, New Haven and London 2011, 1–9.

¹¹ See, for example, J. Le Goff, 'The Whys and Ways of Writing a Biography: the Case of Saint Louis', *Exemplaria* 1, 1989, 207–225.

¹² Recently Michael Prestwich has drawn attention to Geoffrey Elton's poor opinion of the biographical form (G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, New York 1967, 169, cited in M. Prestwich, 'Medieval Biography', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, 2010, 325–46 at 326 and n.3).

¹³ On the writing of medieval biography, see W. L. Warren, 'Biography and the Medieval Historian', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1982, 5–18; R. Morse, 'Biography as a Branch of Literature', *Modern Language Review* 80, 1985, 257–68; J. L. Nelson, 'Writing Early Medieval Biography', *History Workshop Journal* 50, 2000, 129–36; and the essays in *Writing Medieval Biography*.

In addition to responding to the demands of the moment, each act of remembering recasts memory and alters the individual's reconstruction of their own past, whether consciously or subconsciously.¹⁴ What might seem insignificant and forgettable today might be of consequence and thus worth recalling tomorrow. In this and other aspects, individual memory practices reflect the dynamics and concerns of historiography more generally.¹⁵ The final suggestion of this paper proceeds from the observation that, although biographies normally focus on an individual, they also contain at least the fragments of other lives as the biographical subject encounters and forms relationships, however fleeting and tangential, with other people. Often the biographical subject's words and deeds only make sense in relation to the presence of others. In other words, one biography necessarily leads to many others. Therefore, by occasionally shifting the spotlight from the lead character to significant members of the supporting cast, new perspectives are offered which might generate alternative readings of the evidence and recast the historical narrative. This approach also acknowledges the view that the writing of historical biography is more complex than simply fashioning the narrative of an individual life.¹⁶

The Anglo-Saxons wrote biography, but not necessarily with the same aims and assumptions as those who practise the art today.¹⁷ The most common and explicitly self-conscious form of life-writing in the early medieval period was hagiography.¹⁸ Very few biographies of secular figures survive from the Anglo-Saxon period. Asser's *Life of King Alfred* and the anonymous *Life of King Edward the Confessor* are perhaps the sole extant examples of complete secular biographies in England from before 1066.¹⁹ The many saints' lives which survive from Anglo-Saxon England constitute by far the largest corpus of biographical material. However, as is well recognized, the hagiographical genre has its own conventions that militate against expectations that the lives represented necessarily bore any close relationship to the actual lived experience of the individuals concerned.²⁰

Asser's *Life of King Alfred* seems to offer the kind of information that many would expect in an historical biography. As well as notices of Alfred's military achievements in his wars against the Danes, Asser describes the king's battles against ill-health. Asser claimed that the source of his information on the king's

¹⁴ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 19–20, and the references cited therein.

¹⁵ On this theme, see J. Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. S. Rendall and E. Claman, New York 1992; E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*, Basingstoke 1999, and *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700–1300*, ed. E. van Houts, Harlow 2001.

¹⁶ Cf. Elton's contentious and prescriptive remarks on the 'task' of the biographer (*The Practice of History*, 169).

¹⁷ The word 'biography' was not coined until the seventeenth century, but life writing was known in the early medieval period, although using terms such as the Latin *vita*; see Morse, 'Biography', 257.

¹⁸ T. J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographies in the Middle Ages*, New York and Oxford 1988.

¹⁹ *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, London 1983, 65–110; *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow, 2nd edn, Oxford 1992. The *Life of King Edward* has been dated to 1065–7 (F. Barlow, 'Edward [St Edward; known as Edward the Confessor] (1003 x 1005–1066), king of England', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8516?docPos=1>, accessed 09/01/2012).

²⁰ See for example, D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1989; S. J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, Cambridge 1988.

various ailments was Alfred himself.²¹ Here is a suffering human being whose struggles against physical infirmity make his political success all the more admirable. Alfred is no remote and all-powerful figure with whom it is difficult to make an empathic or even sympathetic connection. He was a man who suffered and, because those who read about him are very likely to have experienced illnesses of some sort, the chronological distance collapses and the modern reader makes a connection and thereby appears to understand this Anglo-Saxon king a little better. Alfred not only feared the pain of the disease itself, but even in periods of remission was almost paralysed by anticipating the return of the pain.²²

When we are told that a mysterious illness afflicted Alfred at his wedding in 868, it is difficult to resist the temptation to engage in a little amateur Freudian analysis, although the marathon feast that followed the wedding may suggest more mundane somatic rather than psychological problems. Asser himself offers a number of characteristically medieval explanations:

Certainly it was not known to any of those who were present on that occasion, nor to those up to the present day who have enquired how such an illness could arise and – worst of all, alas! – could continue so many years without remission, from his twentieth year up to his fortieth and beyond. Many, to be sure, alleged that it had happened through the spells and witchcraft of those around him; others, through the ill-will of the devil, who is always envious of good men; others, that it was the result of some unfamiliar kind of fever; still others thought it was due to the piles (*ficus*), because he had suffered this particular kind of agonizing irritation even from his youth.²³

Whatever the cause of Alfred's ailments, clearly the king's health was the subject of some rumour and popular discussion during his lifetime.²⁴ Evidently Alfred's suspect health was an essential element in Asser's representation of his subject and perhaps as important as the king's military achievements.²⁵ Part of the story that Asser tells us is that Alfred visited a shrine in Cornwall dedicated to St Guerir (and later St Neot) to ask that God might:

substitute for the pangs of the present and agonizing infirmity some less severe illness on the understanding that the new illness would not be outwardly visible on his body, whereby he would be rendered useless and contemptible. For he feared leprosy or blindness, or some other such disease, which so quickly render men useless and contemptible by their onslaught.²⁶

Asser therefore suggests that, after being cured of piles, Alfred was afflicted by God with another, and perhaps less embarrassing, illness at his own request and as a method of demonstrating his commitment to God's commandments, despite an inability to resist carnal desires.²⁷ The prayer for an infirmity that would not show on the king's body was presumably made so that Alfred could present a outwardly strong and invulnerable kingly *persona* to his subjects. Given Asser's

²¹ *Alfred the Great*, 76, Asser's career and his biography are discussed by Keynes and Lapidge, *ibid.*, 48–58.

²² *Alfred the Great*, 101.

²³ *Alfred the Great*, 88–90: after the wedding 'and after the feasting which lasted day and night, he was struck without warning in the presence of the entire gathering by a sudden severe pain that was quite unknown to all physicians'.

²⁴ For a discussion of Alfred's illnesses and textual influences, see A. P. Smyth, *Alfred the Great*, Oxford 1995, 199–216.

²⁵ Asser explicitly links Alfred's illnesses with the Viking attacks (*Alfred the Great*, 91, 101).

²⁶ *Alfred the Great*, 89 and n.141 (p.254).

²⁷ *Alfred the Great*, 89–90.

monastic mindset, his subject's suffering can also be construed as the hagiographical commonplace of the saint enduring, often clandestine, physical suffering both as a sign of personal devotion and God's grace.²⁸ Before leaving Alfred and his illnesses, it is worth noting that the king's restoration of education in his kingdom worked in favour of his posthumous reputation, for who would be more likely to preserve his memory than those scholars who, like Asser, had benefited from his patronage?

Asser's *Life of King Alfred* was influenced by Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, which, as is well known, was itself based on classical models derived from Suetonius among others.²⁹ Here, the problem of literary models influencing the structure and content of later texts is made obvious. Did Asser's knowledge of Einhard's work go beyond using the *Life of Charlemagne* as a model to direct borrowing of material about Charlemagne in his description of Alfred? Although such literary borrowings are troubling, it is just possible that Alfred really did behave in ways that could be best described by referring to Einhard's work. This leaves aside the thorny issue of individuals who consciously scripted their lives according to role models derived from what they knew of earlier men and women.³⁰

With the exception of the anonymous *Life of King Edward*, biographical information about other Anglo-Saxon rulers is found only within more general historical works, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, or the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Although the *Life of King Edward* seems to offer a detailed study of the Confessor, it is disappointing as a biography and the King Edward who emerges from the text is a shadowy figure. As Richard Mortimer has written:

What, in the end, can we say about Edward the man? If we keep ourselves to strictly contemporary assessments, very little. The few phrases at the end of the *Encomium* about his strength and vigour are too simple and conventional to be given any weight. Looking a little wider, the poem in the *Chronicle* is partly standard praise for a ruler and partly incipient hagiography. If we look at the non-hagiographical comments in the *Vita*, we at least have something: a man prone to anger, with a grievance about the death of his brother, and capable of decisive action at least in the earlier part of his life. Any assessment that goes beyond this has to be based on deductions from his known actions, and they in turn will depend on wider interpretations of political history going far beyond Edward's life, most notably of course the Norman Conquest which intervened soon afterwards.³¹

These comments are found in the introduction to a 'collaborative biography' of Edward the Confessor, a method of studying kings and other figures that has proved popular with historians writing about the Anglo-Saxon period. Such a collection of essays on aspects of the career and reign of these kings offers a pragmatic solution to the problem of the lack of contemporary biographies and the fragmentary nature of the extant materials.³² Although these collaborations offer illumination on aspects of the 'life and times' of these figures, they are not strictly speaking 'biographies'

²⁸ For further discussion of Alfred's illness, see *Alfred the Great*, 90 n.143 (pp.255–6), and D. Pratt, 'The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 30, 2001, 39–90.

²⁹ *Alfred the Great*, 54 and n.108 (p.221).

³⁰ Medieval saints often imitated earlier heroes of the Church, who in their turn attempted to replicate Christ's life. See Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 185–230.

³¹ R. Mortimer, 'Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend', in *Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend*, ed. R. Mortimer, Woodbridge 2009, 1–40 at 29.

³² See, for example, *Oswald, Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge, Stamford 1995; *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. R. Rumble, new edition, Leicester 1999; *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill, London and New York 2001; *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke, Woodbridge 1988. For a related

and the reader is often left with unresolved questions about the individual concerned such as 'just who was he – what sort of character did he have?'³³

Is it possible to answer the biographical questions that modern historians ask of the evidence relating to medieval figures? It is now widely recognized that medieval writers did not intend to fashion biography in its modern sense of representing a past that is 'more human, more vivid, more intimate, more accessible, more connected to ourselves'.³⁴ The divergence between truth and convention in medieval historical texts has been explored by Ruth Morse.³⁵ In her discussion of medieval biographical representations, she points out that we must understand that medieval writers approached the task of narrating individual lives with assumptions very different from those of modern historians, informed as the latter are by developments in the biographical art from the time of Samuel Johnson, through the 'new biography' of Lytton Strachey and others, to the 'biographical turn' in the social sciences of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.³⁶ The crucial distinction between medieval and modern approaches is the latter's concern with representing the contingencies of human experience and the uniqueness of the subject. By contrast, medieval 'biographers' approached their task with the aim of demonstrating how closely their subjects conformed to recognized 'character-types'.

In their search for appropriate models medieval writers employed conventions derived from classical and biblical models as mediated through the writings of the early Church Fathers. For example, the most influential hagiographical model in the Latin West was the *Life of St Martin of Tours* by Sulpicius Severus.³⁷ For these medieval hagiographers, life-writing was about transmitting the spiritual significance of the individual's actions, rather than revealing some sort of unique 'character' or 'personality'. Details about an individual's life were included, or as Morse suggests, sometimes 'invented' to illustrate a recognized pattern unfolding.³⁸ Rhetorical techniques such as the *dispositio*, that is the structuring of elements of encomiastic narratives, were employed by educated early medieval biographers to shape their work. On the face of it, anecdotes concerning individuals seem to offer insights into the lived experience of these early medieval subjects, but they were employed schematically merely to illustrate virtues and vices.

The perceived tyranny of rhetorical topoi raises the issue of whether these anecdotes reflect historical truth in the sense that the individual actually did or said the things reported. It is accepted that medieval writers invented speeches to highlight the virtues and vices of their main characters.³⁹ If the speech was not what was actually said, then it was the sort of thing that such a character with that set of innate qualities would have said. Given the effectiveness of including direct speech to

use of the method, see *Gruffudd ap Cynan: a Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund, Woodbridge 1997.

³³ These questions are posed by Nick Higham in his 'Endpiece' to *Edward the Elder*, 307–11 at 309.

³⁴ A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. cited by B. Caine, *Biography and History*, Basingstoke 2010, 1 and n.2.

³⁵ Morse, 'Biography', developed further in R. Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality*, Cambridge 1991.

³⁶ Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 125–78. For a survey of developments in the biographical form, see Caine, *Biography and History*, and N. Hamilton, *Biography: a Brief History*, Cambridge, MA, 2007.

³⁷ J. Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages' in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N. Partner, London 2005, 22–41. There is an accessible translation of the *Life of St Martin of Tours* in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. T. F. X. Noble and T. Head, London 1995, 1–29.

³⁸ Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 127–8.

³⁹ Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 129–35.

enliven an historical narrative, the realization that such material is more than likely to be spurious can be profoundly disappointing and, for want of anything better, many historians have elected to include the verbal exchanges anyway.⁴⁰

Concerns with developmental psychology are likely to lead modern biographers into misinterpreting information about the early years of their medieval subjects unless this idea of an innate and fixed *ethos* of the individual is recognized. For example, the *puer-senex* topos present particularly but not exclusively in medieval hagiography, where children seem to behave with a maturity beyond their years, reflects the idea that the saint might be granted wisdom by God as a sign of His favour and that such a gift could manifest itself at any age. The intervention of divine revelation, which accompanied Christian or monastic conversion, enabled medieval life-writers to allow the characters of their subjects to develop and change. This is about as close to developmental psychology as we are liable to get in the medieval sources.⁴¹ An example is provided by Bede's account of the childhood of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. We are told that:

up to the eighth year of his age, which is the end of infancy and the beginning of boyhood, he could devote his mind to nothing but the games and wantonness of children, so that it could be testified of him as of the blessed Samuel: 'Now Cuthbert did not yet know the Lord, neither was the word of the Lord yet revealed unto him.' This was spoken as a prelude to the praise of his boyhood, for, when he became older, he was to know the Lord perfectly and to receive the word of the Lord, when once the ears of his heart had been opened.⁴²

Cuthbert's enlightenment was precipitated by an infant of about three years of age, who ran up to him as he was playing with a large crowd of boys in a field and, 'with the gravity of an old man', warned him 'not to indulge in idle games but rather steadfastly to control both mind and limbs'. Cuthbert refused to heed the advice and the infant fell to the floor weeping and wailing. When they asked why he was so upset the infant replied 'Why, O Cuthbert, most holy bishop and priest, do you do these things so contrary to your nature and your rank? It is not fitting for you to play among children when the Lord has consecrated you to be a teacher of virtue even to your elders.' Needless to say, Cuthbert gave up his childish games and from then on obeyed the Holy Spirit which directed his life.⁴³ Cuthbert's adult life as recounted by Bede is presented as a revelation of holiness as episode after episode confirms his status as a saint.

One of the criticisms levelled at the biographical approach to the past is that history is about more than the sum of individual lives, but this is perhaps missing the point that every biography reveals intersections and connections with many other lives. It has been argued that the biographer cannot help but become a character in the biography of his subject.⁴⁴ For example, Asser inserted himself into the narrative, assuring his reader that he witnessed certain actions of his subject or heard

⁴⁰ Historians are perhaps occasionally on safer ground in the eleventh and twelfth centuries where biographers such as Eadmer of Canterbury took considerable care to record the actual speech of their subjects. See *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. R. W. Southern, Oxford 1972, and Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography', 24, 32–3.

⁴¹ Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 158–65.

⁴² *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1940, 154–5; cf. Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 152–4. For another example of an infant developing an interest in the ways of God, see Willibald's late eighth-century Life of Saint Boniface (*Soldiers of Christ*, 107–40 at 110–11).

⁴³ *Two Lives of Cuthbert*, 156–9.

⁴⁴ Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography', 34–5.

Alfred's sayings.⁴⁵ In chapter 13 of the *Life*, Asser gives historical information, which he had learned from Alfred himself, therefore enlisting his subject as a verifier of the source material for his own life.⁴⁶ In addition to serving as a guarantee of authenticity, such intervention allows for the memorialization of the biographer as well as the subject.⁴⁷

A recognized branch of the biographical enterprise is prosopography. This was not unknown in the Anglo-Saxon period in the form of collective biographies, such as Bede's *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth Jarrow*, written after 716 and before 735, which narrates the early history of his monastery through a serial biography of its first abbots, most notably Benedict Biscop.⁴⁸ The *gesta abbatum* and *gesta episcoporum* were to become well-established historical genres, centring on the lives of the abbots and bishops as an effective way of organizing and narrating the past.⁴⁹ In other works of history from Anglo-Saxon England, there are inset lives of kings, bishops and other significant figures.⁵⁰

Although there are several hagiographical texts concerning the lives of female Anglo-Saxon saints, there is only one extant text which celebrates the life of a secular woman, namely the anonymous *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. The *Encomium* was produced for the Norman-born Emma, who became the queen of Æthelred II and of his successor Cnut of Denmark.⁵¹ Emma, together with her son Edward the Confessor's wife, Edith, daughter of Earl Godwine of Wessex, is the subject of a dual-biographical study by Pauline Stafford.⁵² The major source for Queen Edith's career is the anonymous *Life of her husband*. The fact that a text ostensibly focusing on one subject might prove to be the major source for the biography of another individual highlights the point about intersecting lives and suggests that shifting the spotlight from the presumed leading character to members of the supporting cast might lend a fresh perspective on events. In the case of the *Life of King Edward*, the eponymous hero of the text is often eclipsed by more colourfully drawn members of this supporting cast. Indeed, Earl Godwine and his family dominate the *Life of King Edward*, to such an extent that the king is almost a bit player in his own life. This may be a reflection of a conscious attempt by the medieval writer to shift the blame for failure away from his subject, or it might, in fact, reflect the key, but perhaps transitory yet dynamic roles played by these other characters in the unfolding drama of Edward's reign. In concluding this paper it is worth considering two such dominant members of the supporting cast in the drama of Æthelred the Unready's reign, namely the king's mother, Queen Ælfthryth, and the ealdorman of Mercia, Eadric streona, infamous for his tergiversations during the Danish crisis at the end of the

⁴⁵ *Alfred the Great*, 50–8.

⁴⁶ *Alfred the Great*, 71.

⁴⁷ Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography', 34.

⁴⁸ *The Age of Bede*, trans. J. F. Webb, London 1965, 183–208. Bede's *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* was translated by D. H. Farmer.

⁴⁹ M. Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum, Gesta Abbatum*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fasc. 37, Turnhout 1981. These texts probably influenced the organization of secular texts such as the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni (Jumièges).

⁵⁰ For example, Bede's account of the reign of Oswald of Bernicia (Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, 214–18, 230–2, 242–54).

⁵¹ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, with a supplementary introduction by S. Keynes, Camden Classic Reprints for the Royal Historical Society, Cambridge 1998.

⁵² P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*, Oxford 1997.

reign. Viewing Æthelred's reign through their eyes offers an alternative perspective of the problems of the late tenth and early eleventh century.⁵³

Queen Ælfthryth, Æthelred's mother, was the widow of Æthelwold, ealdorman of East Anglia. She married Æthelred's father, King Edgar in 964 and had two sons with him, Edmund and Æthelred himself. King Edgar's son Edward, who stood between Queen Ælfthryth's sons and the throne, was murdered in the evening of 18 March 978 at 'the gap of Corfe' in East Dorset and buried at Wareham nearby.⁵⁴ Edward's death was seen as martyrdom and by the end of the eleventh century Queen Ælfthryth was widely held responsible for the crime. As Ann Williams pointed out, Ælfthryth's role has much of the 'wicked stepmother' motif about it and historians should be wary of giving rumour and popular animus the status of historical fact.⁵⁵ Viewed from Ælfthryth's perspective, these events might be reconstructed to present a politically active and important woman.⁵⁶

Æthelred was unfortunate in that his reign marked the return of the concerted Scandinavian attacks on England that eventually led to the displacement of the West Saxon ruling dynasty by the Dane Cnut. With the benefit of hindsight, later writers, such as Henry of Huntingdon, compiling their histories of the Anglo-Saxon period in the middle of the twelfth century, were alive to the possibilities of spicing up their narratives with tales of bloody intrigue at court.⁵⁷ The danger is, of course, that such lurid episodes can overshadow or, indeed, characterize the whole period to the extent that what Æthelred did is eclipsed by the reported words and deeds of those around him. Towards the end of his life, the king's story was interwoven with that of Ealdorman Eadric *streona*, another figure who seems to embody and define the uncertainties of the reign.⁵⁸

Eadric *streona* ('the grasping') was appointed ealdorman of Mercia in 1007. Ann Williams reminds us that Eadric's biography relies on the evidence of another twelfth-century historian, the monk John of Worcester, but he may have had access to family traditions or a lost saga on his deeds.⁵⁹ Eadric's career is marked by murder, treachery and betrayal and some have seen him as the arch-villain of the last years of Æthelred's reign.⁶⁰ This characterization is dramatic and, given the sources, understandable, but is it history? One of the features of Ann Williams' treatment of the reign of Æthelred the Unready is an unwillingness to follow blindly these salacious medieval accounts. It would be all too easy to allow figures such as Eadric and Queen Ælfthryth to characterize the reign of Æthelred the Unready. That said, in the opinion of the most recent of Eadric *streona*'s biographers, 'his reputation as an unscrupulous operator in the interests of self-advancement is most thoroughly

⁵³ S. Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready' in *Writing Medieval Biography*, 77–97.

⁵⁴ Ann Williams discusses the evidence in full in her *Æthelred the Unready*, 11–14, and the sources cited therein.

⁵⁵ Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, 12–13.

⁵⁶ P. Stafford, 'Ælfthryth (d. 999 x 1001), queen of England, consort of King Edgar', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/194?docPos=2>, accessed 09/01/2012.

⁵⁷ Henry, *Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, *Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway, Oxford 1996; Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, 12 and n.70.

⁵⁸ S. Keynes, 'Eadric [Edric] Streona (d. 1017), magnate', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8511?>, accessed 09/01/2012.

⁵⁹ Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, 70–1.

⁶⁰ As noted by Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, 70 n.11; cf. Keynes, 'Eadric Streona', for a list of 'an extraordinary assortment of politically motivated crimes'.

deserved'.⁶¹ However unsavoury it might have been, Eadric's career is an essential element in the history of the reign of Æthelred the Unready. He exemplifies the skills needed to negotiate the cut-throat politics of Anglo-Saxon England around the year 1000 and serves as a reminder that not all subjects of biography are admirable.

The relationship between literary representation and a life as it was actually lived, between the historical actor and a literary character, is problematic. It is tempting to throw in the towel and admit that in all likelihood every medieval biographical narrative is suspect and that we shall never be able to access the 'real' lives of people from the Middle Ages. The temptation to succumb to this relativist pessimism is strong but it perhaps overestimates the reliability of more modern biographies. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century subjects may have left more material to work with, including photographs or sound recordings, personal papers and artefacts, but no biographical text can recreate a 'life as it was lived' in real time, although one suspects that that was the aim of the authors of those multi-volume studies pilloried by Lytton Strachey.⁶² The biographer must always select and organize the source material. For the biographer of a modern subject the problem lies more in selecting from a mass of material, deciding what is, and what is not, significant. By contrast, biographers of medieval subjects invariably complain that there is a dearth of material. Yet, ultimately, all biographers must exercise the 'historian's craft' and decide what to use and what to discard. The historical imagination of the biographer also shapes the representation of the subject. It is here that decisions have to be made as to whether to supply deficiencies in the sources through analogy, or to invent openly. What representation will the sources bear? If modern biographers of medieval subjects are willing to acknowledge that no biography can be a fully reliable representation of an individual's life, then perhaps they may be able to write with less defensiveness. In addition, if it is admitted that every life is reconstructed from fragments, whether endlessly reconstituted personal memory or the external records of words and deed, then it might be conceded that the sometimes exiguous sources for medieval lives might, in fact, be a more accurate representation of lives as they were lived. In order to illustrate this point, it might be worth referring to one of King Edwin of Northumbria's chief men. Edwin (d. 632/33) and his men were discussing whether to convert to Christianity when one of those present drew the following analogy:

The present life of men on earth, in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, appears to me to be as if, when you are sitting at supper with your ealdormen and thegns in the winter-time, and a fire is lighted in the midst and the hall warmed, but everywhere outside the storms of wintry rain and snow are raging, a sparrow should come and fly rapidly through the hall, coming in at one door, and immediately out at the other. Whilst it is inside, it is not touched by the storm of winter, but, yet, that tiny space of calm gone in a moment, from winter at once returning to winter, it is lost to your sight. Thus this life of men appears for a little while; but of what is to follow, or of what went before, we are entirely ignorant.⁶³

Edwin's ealdorman might have extended the metaphor to suggest that as the sparrow flew through the fire-lit hall, it would be seen more or less clearly as the light caught

⁶¹ Keynes, 'Eadric Streona'.

⁶² Caine, *Biography and History*, 39–40.

⁶³ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Book II, Chapter XIII, pp.182–5; *EHD*, I, 617.

it or as it was engulfed in shadow. As Ann Williams has demonstrated, biography, even if it is based on sources that are sometimes brightly lit, sometimes glimpsed only darkly in flickering light, can still make a considerable contribution to our understanding of the medieval past.

MEET THE SWARTS: TRACING A THEGNLY FAMILY IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND¹

Lucy Marten

Few today would agree with Thomas Carlyle that ‘the history of the world is but the Biography of great men’, but the nature of the surviving source material from Anglo-Saxon England means that saints, kings, archbishops, bishops and earldormen are disproportionately represented in the writing of that period’s history.² I cannot pretend that this study offers any insights into the lives of peasants in eleventh-century England, but it does present a rare opportunity to trace a family of thegnly status across several generations and to examine some of the strategies employed by them in order to survive both the problems of settling in a strange land and the turbulent politics of the eleventh century. Members of the Swart kin-group were not figures of national importance: they were on the periphery of the royal court and therefore occasionally dragged into national politics, but in general they lived their lives beneath the notice of chroniclers, hagiographers or historians. One text that did capture some aspects of their family structure and landholding, however, was Domesday Book. The Domesday aspects of this case study have formed a part of my teaching on using Domesday for several years as they allow students to explore many of the different techniques employed to trace pre-Conquest landholders within the Domesday text, and reveal both the potential for, and the pitfalls of, using Domesday evidence across many counties and circuits.³ Many of these techniques are those so patiently explained to students by Ann Williams herself and used to such good effect in her many articles and books. The very fact that I was able to untangle some of the story of this Anglo-Danish family is humbly presented in thanks for her support and scholarly generosity. In a similar vein to Ann herself, I find that working in Domesday almost always takes me backwards in time and this exploration is no different.

The earliest member of the family that can be securely traced in surviving documents is Ætsere (representing the ODan/OSwed form Azur) *swearte* or Swart, in texts dating to the reign of Harthacnut (1040–1042), Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), and possibly back into the reign of Cnut (1016–1035).⁴ The prevalence of

¹ I would like to offer my thanks to David Roffe for giving me the opportunity to write this piece, and for his extraordinary patience in waiting for the manuscript.

² T. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, London 1841, 34.

³ As will become clear, the Domesday evidence employed in this study is generally limited to counties south of the Wash. Tracing individuals with Danish names is not impossible in the northern counties (see David Roffe in this volume), but distinguishing between entries with common names such as Ulf is as difficult there as finding Ælfric or Eadric can be further south. There is no reason to suppose that the Swarts would necessarily have held land in the northern counties and it is (as yet) impossible to connect them with individuals such as Svartbrandr in Lincs., despite the orthographic similarities.

⁴ For the identification and orthography of Ætsere/Azur, see J. Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, Uppsala 1994, 89–92. Swart derives from the ON *svart* and has given rise to the modern English ‘swarthy’; whether it was used in this case descriptively or ironically cannot be known.

Danish names in East Anglia means that it is always dangerous to assume that Scandinavian name-forms equate to new eleventh-century settlers, but in this case, I strongly suspect that the family's distinctive naming patterns and the roles of family members as *huscarls* can be interpreted as indicators that they came over to England as part of the Danish king Cnut's retinue.⁵

There has been some discussion in the secondary literature as to the density of Danish settlement in England in the wake of Cnut's 1016 conquest, although the question does not appear to have exercised historians to the same extent as that of previous waves of Danish settlers.⁶ Mack for example argued for a 'widespread destruction' and even 'decimation of the thegnly aristocracy' as a result of the extended campaigns of Æthelred's reign and the 'widespread redistribution of aristocratic lands' after Cnut's accession.⁷ Williams, on the other hand, pointed out the new arrangements were short-lived and that the Danish settlers were 'not numerous enough to change the customs and traditions of the region in which they settled'.⁸ As ever in Anglo-Saxon history, the reality will have varied from region to region and shire to shire. Part of the purpose of this essay is to add the evidence from one family to the debate and to examine the fortunes of this kin-group and the strategies that they employed to survive decades of political change.

As will be seen, the original core of the family's landholdings was in Essex and here the likelihood of a radical change in the personnel of the thegnly county community after 1016 is high. The area was targeted by the Danes throughout the campaigns that lasted from the 980s until 1016; the famous battle of Maldon in which Ealdorman Bryhtnoth together with his 'noble thegns' and 'proud followers' perished is only one example, and the 1016 Essex battle of *Assendun* at which Cnut gained the crown was lamented by the writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the occasion at which 'all the flower of the English nobility was destroyed'.⁹ While some allowances for literary hyperbole in the face of conquest and defeat must be expected, it is also true that the Essex thegnage would undoubtedly have been involved in those battles and must have suffered heavy losses. We know that Cnut took an active interest in the site at *Assendun*, and that he, along with the new Danish earl of the region (Thorkell the Tall), established a memorial church there. Both Cnut and Thorkell almost certainly took advantage of the situation to grant away much Essex land to their retainers. The landholdings of prominent Danes at Cnut's court such as the stallers Tofi the Proud and Osgod Clapa have a large East Anglian component, and it is reasonable to assume that the subject of this investigation, Azur Swart, probably gained his lands at the same time. Even by the time of the Domesday survey, Essex still has a relatively high number of men specifically named as 'the Dane (*dacus*, *danus*)'.¹⁰ East Anglia has no contemporary

⁵ R. H. C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 5, 1955, 23–39. See also A. Williams, 'Cockles Amongst the Wheat: Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', *Midland History* 11, 1986, 1–22, and M. Locherbie-Cameron, 'The Men Named in the Poem' in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg, Oxford 1991, 238–49 (for men with Scandinavian names fighting with Ealdorman Bryhtnoth at Maldon); L. Abrams, 'Scandinavian Place-Names and Settlement History: Flegg, Norfolk and East Anglia in the Viking Age' in *Viking and Norse in the North Atlantic*, ed. A. Mortensen and S. Arge, Tórshavn 2005, 307–22.

⁶ See, for example, F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, Oxford 1971, 414; G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings in England: a Review', *ASE* 4, 1975, 181–206; Williams, 'Cockles', 1–22.

⁷ K. Mack, 'Changing Thengs: Cnut's Conquest and the English Aristocracy', *Albion* 16, 1984, 378–87.

⁸ Williams, 'Cockles', 15.

⁹ D. Scragg, 'The Battle of Maldon' in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, 18–31; ASC, s.a. 1016.

¹⁰ Williams, 'Cockles', 12, notes the rarity of this appellation in Domesday, citing single examples in

local chronicle or a Hemming's cartulary to provide more information, but there are some interesting tales of local import in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey which would seem to provide evidence for the confiscation of the land of 'certain English nobles' and the granting of it to Danes – the implied judicial process might indicate that this was forfeited land.¹¹ Monastic chroniclers are notorious for presenting all losses of land as unjust but the implication and language echoes that of Hemming complaining that the earl's thegns (*milites*) and the 'most evil Danes (*inquisisimi Dani*)' had seized estates in Oxfordshire 'by force and fraud and secular power'.¹² Ramsey also has tales of nefarious doings by Earl Thorkell's wife, of drunken Danes (easy to drive a hard property bargain with apparently), of royal permission granted to Danes to marry a widow with property, and of tensions between the English and Danish communities.¹³

There may be limited local evidence (as so often in East Anglia) but, according to Keynes' very useful *Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, there are nine occurrences of the name Azur (with variations) dated between 1019 and 1059.¹⁴ To that can be added a lease from Worcester probably dated to the early 1050s, an agreement of 1045 and two Westminster writs.¹⁵ It is likely that this list involves several individuals with the same name and it is safest to assume the maximum number of individuals involved. Domesday Worcestershire records the tenure of an Azor, a 1066 tenant of the churches of Worcester and Pershore, and he was probably the man who attested the Worcester lease and at least one other Worcester document in the 1040s and 1050s.¹⁶ In Kent, a thegn named as Azur of Lessness (Kent) in Domesday is probably the Atsere who is recorded in a (probably forged) writ and several Westminster confirmation charters as having left Lessness to the abbey.¹⁷ He may or may not be identical with the Kentish thegn Azur Roda who attested a 1045 agreement concerning Archbishop Eadsige and appears in Domesday as a tenant of land in Kent.¹⁸ A confirmation charter of King Edward for Waltham Abbey – previously considered a post-1066 forgery but now reappraised by Keynes – includes the attestation of one *Adzurus regis dapifer* who is possibly the Berkshire thegn, Azur, identified in Domesday as a *dispensator* of King Edward.¹⁹ The subject of this essay, Azur Swart was, as we shall see, probably dead by 1066 when the tenure of his grandchildren can be traced in Domesday and, for reasons that will become clear, there are reasons to link Azur Swart with some of the other charters.

Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Hampshire and Somerset. To this list can be added Thorkil the Dane in Huntingdonshire (GDB, 203v: *DB Hunts*, 2,8). In contrast at least three individuals are named as such in Essex: Othin, Anund and Fin (LDB, 25, 25v, 41, 41v: *DB Essex*, 18,37;39,23,38,43). The Essex-based Fin is also named as Fin the Dane in Buckinghamshire (GDB, 149v, 153: *DB Bucks*, 19,5,57,16).

¹¹ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS 83, 1886, ch. 74.

¹² Hemming, quoted by Williams, 'Cockles', 13.

¹³ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ch. 74–7.

¹⁴ S. Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge 2002, Tables LXX and LXXV.

¹⁵ S. 1406, S. 1471 and Harmer, *AS Writs*, nos. 76, 77.

¹⁶ GDB, 173, 173v, 174, 175: *DB Worcs*, 2,25;59;75,9,1b; S. 1406, S. 1396. For the text and witness list of the latter, see *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. Kemble, London 1846, no. 764.

¹⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 76; GDB, 1, 1v: *DB Kent*, D25. For Lessness, see GDB, 6v: *DB Kent*, 5,19, in which Azur is credited as the 1066 holder, but Robert Latimer was holding of the bishop in 1086. What had happened to Westminster's claim is unclear.

¹⁸ S. 1471; GDB, 13: *DB Kent*, 9,19. The Azur who appears on f.9 could be either man, if indeed two men are involved.

¹⁹ S. 1036, dated 1062 and previously thought to be a post-1066 forgery (S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10, 1988, 185–222 at 201–3, esp. n.98 and *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford 1994, xxxviii–xliiii); GDB, 57v, 62: *DB Berks*, 1,28,41,6.

Chronologically, then, it is possible that Azur Swart was the *Ætsere minister* who was listed as one of the witnesses to Cnut's charter for Winchester in 1019.²⁰ An *Atsere* also appears in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey in conjunction with a group of predominantly Danish names thought to have been the followers of Cnut and his Danish earls.²¹ There are very few extant documents from the reign of Cnut but even so the gap between Azur's possible attestation in 1019 and the flurry of documents in which his name appears in the early 1040s is a long one, and one which requires an explanation. Either two different men are indicated or Azur's connection with the royal court remained quiescent and unnoticed in royal documentation (while he tended to his estates and raised a family in Essex perhaps?) between the early 1020s and 1040; in some of the latter charters he appears as a witness alongside his son who must thus have attained the age of legal majority by 1040 at the least. The first explanation is entirely likely and the matter cannot be proved either way but, whilst speculative, it is also conceivable that Azur's connections with the royal court during this period were mediated through Cnut's queen, Emma, and that it is her prominence in the early 1040s that provides the explanation for his sudden re-emergence in charters and writs. I have argued elsewhere that Emma probably acted as a *de facto* earl in East Anglia and Essex after the exile of Thorkell the Tall in 1023 until the death of Cnut in 1035; her landholdings and her close connection with the thegns of this region can be demonstrated in their later careers.²² Emma was exiled from England or 'driven out without any mercy to face the raging winter' in 1037 but returned with Harthacnut (her son by Cnut) and his sixty-two ships after the death of Harold I in 1040.²³ The usual exaggeration of Emma's encomiast (writing within a year or two of these events) regarding her central role in Harthacnut's accession and rule is, in this case, substantiated by the charter and chronicle evidence. The encomiast wrote that:

The English nobles ... met **them** before they crossed the sea, deeming that the best course was for them to make amends to the **king and queen**, and to place themselves devotedly under their dominion. When Hörthaknútr **and his mother** had been appraised by these men ... he was most gloriously received by all the inhabitants of that country, and thus by the grace of the divine favour the realm which was properly his was restored [my emphasis].²⁴

Emma's central role is also evident in the few charters and writs from Harthacnut's reign. There is only one extant charter and one confirmation that are considered genuine and in both Emma attests as *regis mater* in first place after the king.²⁵

²⁰ S. 956. An Azur also attests S. 982 (dated 1040 x 1042), S. 994 (1042), S. 1003 (1044), S. 1044 (1042 x 1044), S. 1015 (1046), and S. 1028 (1059). The otherwise unrecorded Swesa or Sweta, listed on S. 954 (dated 1019), might possibly be a corruption of Swart. This charter is a forgery but the witness list is thought to be derived from a genuine text (S. Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. R. Rumble, London 1994, 43–88 at 68 n.145). If so, it would confirm Azur as the most likely candidate for the earlier references.

²¹ D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey', *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 12, 1940, 127–53, reprinted in her *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England*, London 1981, 195–53.

²² L. Marten, 'The Shiring of East Anglia: an Alternative Hypothesis', *Historical Research* 81, 2008, 1–27 at 21–7.

²³ ASC C, D, *s.a.* 1037 and 1040. The 'E' text has the figure of 60 ships.

²⁴ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell with a supplementary introduction by S. Keynes, Cambridge 1998, 53.

²⁵ S. 982 (dated 1040 x 1042), a grant to Winchester; S. 994 (dated 1042), confirmation of grants of

In one of only two extant writs, her position is even clearer as it records their joint gift for the soul of Cnut.²⁶ Having spent almost all his life in Denmark, Harthacnut had no personal following in England and would have relied upon the contacts made by Emma. Stafford noted that in 1036, 'the pattern of support for Harthacnut in some ways matches that of Emma's dower lands' and the situation in 1040 is likely to have been the same.²⁷ Emma would have pulled upon the relationships developed at Cnut's court and by herself in East Anglia to bolster support for her son. East Anglian thegns such as the stallers Osgod Clapa and Tofi the Proud come back to prominence in witness lists and Azur was probably part of that affinity. A generation or two later, Azur's son and grandsons were recorded in Domesday as the men of Tofi's grandson, Esgar the staller.

England in the early 1040s was a rapidly shifting political landscape. Harthacnut, later described as the man who 'did nothing worthy of a king as long as he ruled', did not rule for long and even before he died (at the wedding feast of Tofi the Proud to the daughter of Osgod Clapa²⁸), his half-brother, Edward son of Æthelred II, had been invited back from Normandy.²⁹ It is clear that this was a period of intense political negotiation and insecurity. While Earl Godwine is credited by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as brokering this change in dynasty, and Godwine and Bishop Ælfwine by the author of *Quadripartitus*, Emma surely also played a part.³⁰ Maddicott recently highlighted the role of 'all the thegns of England' (or some of them at least) in that political negotiation; they insisted that Edward should 'guarantee to them upon oath that the laws of Cnut and his sons should continue in his time with unshaken firmness'.³¹ The attestations of thegns to the charters of the new king also demonstrate this continuity and Azur is one of those characterized by Keynes as part of the 'old guard' in his witnessing of several early charters of Edward.³² Such continuity across reigns (for a short while at least) is typical of English practice, although the conquest of Cnut in 1016 had proved an exception.³³

It is also from the early years of Edward the Confessor's reign that a record of the grant of 'the *burh* of Wennington [Essex] with the four hides belonging to it and the church and land *æt thære lea*' (probably Ælffgyth's *lea*) to Westminster Abbey 'as fully as Ætsera Swearte and his wife, Ælffgyth gave them' exists.³⁴ The archives

Cnut to Winchester. Two other Harthacnut charters (S. 993 and S. 995) are both considered dubious, but Emma's name appears as first witness to both.

²⁶ S. 997. See also *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, 87–9; P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*, Oxford 1997, 244–7.

²⁷ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 244.

²⁸ ASC C, s.a. 1042.

²⁹ ASC C, s.a. 1040. Edward attests one charter of Harthacnut (S. 994) thought to be 'authenticity uncertain, possibly a contemporary Abingdon product' (*The Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Oxford 2000, no. 141).

³⁰ Unsurprisingly, her encomiast places her centre-stage (R. Sharpe, 'The Prefaces of *Quadripartitus*', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson, Cambridge 1994, 148–72 at 164, quoted in J. R. Maddicott, 'Edward the Confessor's Return to England in 1041', *EHR* 99, 2004, 650–66 at 650).

³¹ Maddicott, 'Edward the Confessor's Return', 664–6; S. Keynes, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS* 13, 1990, 173–207 at 198; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 247.

³² Keynes, *Atlas*, tables LXX and LXXV.

³³ See, for example, S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of Æthelred the Unready*, Cambridge 1980, 115–20; Mack, 'Changing Thegns', 386–7.

³⁴ S. 1117; *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 73. In Domesday, St Peter's, Westminster, held in Wennington and Leyton (LDB, 14v, 15: *DB Essex*, 6,7;12).

of Westminster also record the grant of Leyton (Essex) by Azur.³⁵ The mention of a *burh* – a fortified manor house – is an indication of Azur's thegnly rank and it is clear that he has married a woman with a traditional English name and gained land through that connection, a situation with parallels in Worcestershire and already noted in the Ramsey Abbey Chronicle.³⁶ In the political circumstances of the early years of Edward's reign this grant may represent more than just an act of piety. The early history of Westminster Abbey is obscured by the prolific use of forged documents by that house, but several traditions link Edward with the abbey from the very beginning of his reign.³⁷ His patronage, culminating in the magnificent new abbey church famously shown on the Bayeux Tapestry and consecrated just before Edward's death in 1066, supposedly had its origins in Edward's gratitude to God and St Peter for his peaceful accession to the throne.³⁸ Azur's grants at this time can be seen as a move to deliberately associate himself with the new ruling house and with the priorities of the new king. If so, the move worked, for the family prospered.

It is possible to identify a further two generations of this thegnly family. The continued use of the distinctive by-name, Swart, by successive generations is an obvious aid to identification, but the probability of kinship links between the various men named Swart can be strengthened by an analysis of their landholding patterns. As has been seen above, the donated parts of Azur and Ælfgyth's estate were centred at Wennington and neighbouring Aveley in the hundred of Chafford, Essex, with an additional property at Leyton in Becontree Hundred. By 1066, when Domesday allows us to reconstruct landholding patterns more fully, it is possible to identify Swein Swart (*Suenus swart*) who held one manor in Suffolk (Boynton in Samford Hundred) and a series of properties in Essex: at Leyton, Aveley and Upminster (both in Chafford) and Theydon (Ongar Hundred).³⁹ His holdings at Leyton and Aveley are almost certainly inherited property; a proposition reinforced by the tenancy in chief of an 'Edward, son of Swein' in the same hundred (held by his widow, Eadgifu in 1086).⁴⁰ Given the patronym used, Swein Swart's son is almost certainly the Edward who held one hide and thirty acres in Aveley.⁴¹ Swein Swart's (*Suenus*

³⁵ S. 1039, S. 1040, S. 1043, all confirmations of Edward the Confessor for Westminster. All are spurious in their present form, but probably contain genuine information.

³⁶ A. Williams, 'A Bell-House and a *Burh-geat*: Lordly Residences in England before the Conquest', in *Medieval Knighthood* 4, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, Woodbridge 1992, 221–40. For examples of intermarriage, see Williams, 'Cockles', 14, *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, ch.75. Whether Azur was one of those Danes memorably characterized by the chronicler John of Wallingford as deliberately making themselves attractive to English women by 'combing their hair daily and bathing every week' is now unknowable.

³⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 286–92. After his death at Oxford, Harold I was buried at Westminster in 1040. One of Harthacnut's first acts as king was to disinter his rival's body and have it thrown into a marsh (ASC C, s.a. 1040). The patronage of Westminster by Edward may conceivably have continued a policy of his brother and fellow-ruler, Harthacnut, which served to undermine the memory of Harold. In his early years Edward can be seen to deliberately associate his rule with that of his half-brother. See, for example, S. 1068 (dated 1042 x 1043), a grant to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds which confirms the rights held under both Cnut and 'Hardecnut kyng mine brother' and another confirmatory writ S. 1106 which uses the same phrase, 'Hardecnut frater meus'.

³⁸ L. Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, trans. R. Rex, Woodbridge 2005, 162–3.

³⁹ LDB, 445v, 78v, 84v, 91, 97: *DB Suff*, 71,1; *DB Essex*, 36,5.40,9.52,1.74,1.

⁴⁰ LDB, 98v: *DB Essex*, 85,1. A more definite location for this half-hide holding is not given.

⁴¹ LDB, 24v: *DB Essex*, 18,27. It cannot be used as definite means of identifying individuals, but it should be noted that these four entries all contain what I have named 'three-fold values', i.e. they give information concerning the manor for three points in time (1066, 'afterwards' and 1086) instead of the more usual two (1066 and 1086). Three-fold values can also be found in other entries relating to this kin-group, see below, n.63.

suart) holding at Upminster (again, likely to be inherited land as it lies in Chafford Hundred) would have placed the family as close neighbours with Tofi the Proud.⁴² Tracing the holdings of Swein (or indeed his son) in Essex is a task made more difficult by the extensive holdings of Swein of Essex, son of Robert fitzWimarc and sheriff of the county. Swein of Essex did not, however, hold in the hundred of Chafford, making it more likely that Edward's father was the only Swein mentioned by the hundred jurors during the process of the Domesday inquest. Interestingly, Swein is the member of the kin group most commonly given the Swart appellation, perhaps as a means of distinguishing him from his more famous namesake in Essex where the core of his holdings lay. It is impossible to say whether the Edward who had held St Osyth and Alresford,⁴³ Chatham and Patching⁴⁴ in 1066 was the same man as Swein's son, but the name is relatively unusual and the attribution likely.

Also in Chafford Hundred we find a reference to a Manni, the 1066 holder of land at Thurrock.⁴⁵ Manni is (fortunately) another unusual name in Domesday, allowing for some confidence in the use of nominal linkage as a means of identification, especially as he was identified as Manni Swart in the Suffolk folios.⁴⁶ Thurrock, close to Aveley and Wennington, was probably his share in the family estate.⁴⁷ It can also be supposed that the Manni who attested two early charters of Edward the Confessor alongside Azur was thus his son; one of these charters concerns a grant of land in Essex and Azur and Manni were undoubtedly present as representatives of the county thegnage.⁴⁸

As indicated above, the core of Manni's holdings were in Suffolk, although there is one entry in Norfolk that can probably be linked to him.⁴⁹ Outside of Little Domesday, the name Manni appears only three times: one entry in Surrey and one in Middlesex can be linked to the Suffolk thegn and there is one example in Somerset.⁵⁰ Again, it is possible to identify his son; an entry for the intriguingly named Swart Hoga, in Theberton (Blything Hundred, Suffolk) notes that he was

⁴² Upminster: see LDB, 91: *DB Essex*, 52,1, for Swein, and S. 1036 for a confirmation of land in Upminster granted to Tofi's foundation at Waltham who held 2½ hides plus 40 acres there in 1066 (LDB, 16v: *DB Essex*, 8,10).

⁴³ LDB, 32v: *DB Essex*, 20, 63;65, held by Geoffrey de Mandeville by 1086.

⁴⁴ LDB, 58–58v: *DB Essex*, 30,7–8, held by Count Eustace of Boulogne in 1086.

⁴⁵ LDB, 24v: *DB Essex*, 18,29; Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, 298–301.

⁴⁶ For more on the name 'Manni or 'Mann' see H. Tsurushima, below p. 42, although I cannot yet find any connection between this family of huscarls and the moneyers.

⁴⁷ For a detailed examination of the application of this methodological technique for identifying individuals see, C. P. Lewis 'Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1996, 69–87. For an example of both the application and the inherent problems of nominal linkage, see A. Williams, 'Little Domesday and the English: the Hundred of Colneis in Suffolk', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates, London 2001, 103–20. For the name Manni, see O. von Feilitzen, *The Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Uppsala 1937, 324–5; Insley, *Scandinavian Names in Norfolk*, 298–300.

⁴⁸ S. 1003 (dated 1044) and S. 1015 (dated 1046). The latter is discussed in C. R. Hart, *The Danelaw*, London 1992, 495–508, with reference to the bounds of this Essex estate and its grant to St Ouen, Rouen.

⁴⁹ LDB, 257: *DB Norf*, 34,7, Little Snoring in Gallow Hundred.

⁵⁰ See below for the Surrey and Middlesex entries. For Somerset, see GDB, 96: *DB Soms*, 25,22. There was also a post-Conquest holder of lands in Sussex, Oxfordshire, Hampshire and Buckinghamshire named as William *filius Manne* which appears in translation as 'fitzManni'. He was a Norman tenant of William de Braose (K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Continental Origins of English Landholders 1066–1166*, CDROM, COEL Enterprises Ltd, 1995, person no. 541).

commended to ‘Ulf son of Manni Swart (*Ulf filius Mannigsuart*)’.⁵¹ This information is confirmed and corroborated by information from the abbey of Bury St Edmunds which supplies the background to the gift of an estate at Chippenhall by Manni and the subsequent challenge to this by ‘Ulf, son of *Mannig sparcingsone*’.⁵² After suffering a snake-bite, Ulf offered alternative grants as reparation for doubting the merits of St Edmund; the manor preferred by the saint, ‘because it abounded in woods’ (Chippenhall), is duly recorded in Domesday as in the possession of the abbey, whilst the proffered alternative (Syleham) was still in Ulf’s hands in 1066.⁵³ The wrath of St Edmund could be a potent force in Suffolk tenurial politics.

Both Ulf and Swart Hoga held land in Blything Hundred and when the extent of Manni’s Suffolk holdings is detailed (Table 1), the reason for this landholding pattern becomes clear. Although he held on both sides of the county, it is clear that the Bramfield complex was the centre of his estate – so it is no surprise to find his adult son(s) holding nearby. As Swart is a rare name, it is likely that both Swart Hoga and Swarting (who also held in Blything, and close to Swein Swart in Samford Hundred) were members of the same kin-group, especially as *-ingr* is a patronymic suffix in Scandinavian onomastics; given the proximity of their holdings to Manni’s central estate, they were probably his sons.⁵⁴ Swarting himself (of whom more below) was the lord of at least twenty-three free men in east Suffolk, an indication of his standing in the local community. The interlaced character of Swart holdings is a pattern that is repeated across the county: in the vill of Strickland (Blything) for example, Swarting (Svartlingr) had held the manor with all appurtenances, whilst there were also five free men who were Ulf’s men.⁵⁵

Table 1 also makes it clear that by 1086 Manni’s holding had been split between Count Alan and Robert de Tosny.⁵⁶ Robert de Tosny held only four manors in Suffolk in 1086: he had gained Mells and Yoxford from Manni, and Bradley and Syleham from ‘Ulf, a thegn’; given the evidence from Bury St Edmunds, this is certainly Manni’s son.⁵⁷ Count Alan also held lands previously held by a man named Ulf, as

⁵¹ LDB, 314; *DB Suff*, 6,109. The by-name Hoga could derive from the OE *hoga*, ‘prudent’, or be an anglicized form of a Scandinavian adjective such as *hógr* or *hægr*, ‘tall’, or *hægr*, ‘amenable’ (G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Of Danes – and Thanes – and Domesday Book’, in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, ed. I. Wood and N. Lund, Woodbridge 1991, 107–21 at 116).

⁵² *VCH Suffolk*, I, 504, taken from the Bury Benefactors List; C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester 1966, 249. The use of the genitival inflexion, *-son*, in the name *spartingsone*, ‘Swart’s son’, is unusual in Danish names in this period (G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘In Search of Lost Danes: the Scandinavian Element in English Surnames’, in *Names, Time and Place: Essays in Memory of Richard McKinley*, ed. D. Hooke and D. Postles, Oxford 2003, 41–57 at 48–50). It presumably reflects the influence of the Bury scribe using the patronymic form to make the relationship between Manni and Ulf clear. Ulf was probably protesting at what he saw as the granting away of part of his inheritance.

⁵³ LDB, 368, 429v; *DB Suff*, 14,105.44,2.

⁵⁴ For Swarting in Suffolk, see LDB, 314, 334–5, 403, 442v–444; *DB Suff*, 6,106,7,37.28,5.67,19;24;28;32, holding in Fordley (Blything Hundred), Strickland, (Blything), Raydon (Samford), Bredfield and Loudham (Wilford), and Campsey Ash and Dallinghoo (Loes). A *Suertinc* also held a house and 10 acres in Colchester, Essex (LDB, 105v; *DB Essex*, B3a). For more holdings of Swarting, see below. See also: G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Copenhagen 1968, 282–3; Insley, *Scandinavian Names in Norfolk*, 360–1.

⁵⁵ LDB, 334v–335; *DB Suff*, 7,37.

⁵⁶ It should also be noted that Manni is distinguished by the use of the appellant ‘swart’ in those manorial entries from the fief of Count Alan, but not in that of Robert de Tosny. There can be little doubt, however, that all these manors were held by the same pre-Conquest thegn and that this is simply a product of the different texts that lie behind the completed Domesday Book.

⁵⁷ LDB, 429–429v; *DB Suff*, 44,1–4.

Table 1 The holdings of Manni Swart in Suffolk

LDB folio	Location	Hundred	Manors	Holdings of men	Successor 1086	Value TRE
292v: 3,1	Cowlinge	Risbridge	9 carucate manor	1 free man, 40a	Count Alan	£9
292v: 3,3	Bramfield	Blything	7 carucate manor		Count Alan	£8
292v: 3,4	Walpole	Blything		7 free men under commendation, sake and soke	Count Alan	assessed in Bramfield
292v: 3,5	Thorington & Wenhaston	Blything		6 free men with 2½ carucates	Count Alan	assessed in Bramfield
292v: 3,6	Middleton	Blything		1 free man with 12 acres	Count Alan	assessed in Bramfield
292v: 3,7	Darsham	Blything		1 free man with 8 acres	Count Alan	assessed in Bramfield
429v: 44,3	Mells	Blything	3 carucate manor		Robert of Tosny	50s
429v: 44,4	Yoxford	Blything	5 carucate manor		Robert of Tosny	40s

did many other Norman lords in 1086.⁵⁸ The principle of what has become known as ‘antecessorship’ or ‘antecessorial succession’ in Domesday scholarship can provide a means of identifying pre-Conquest holders of land from their post-Conquest successors. One of the principal mechanisms for land distribution after the Conquest granted the estates of pre-Conquest thegns (sometimes described as *antecessores*) virtually intact to their post-Conquest successors who thus succeeded to the rights and obligations inherent in that land (although, as Ann Williams, has shown the term could also be utilized in Domesday to describe a range of pre-Conquest landholders).⁵⁹ If the holdings of Robert de Tosny are examined across the country, it can be seen that he also ‘inherited’ land from Ulf in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Gloucestershire, and, in the light of the principle of antecessorship, it is thus likely that these entries all relate to the same pre-Conquest thegn.⁶⁰ Yet it obviously cannot be said that all of either Ulf or Manni’s lands were granted to one successor. The explanation for this division probably lies in the politics of the twenty years between the dates used by Domesday (1066 and 1086), and in particular the tenurial disruption caused by the rebellion and forfeiture of Ralf, earl of East Anglia, in 1075. At the end of the entry for Cowlinge (held by Manni) it is stated that ‘all this Earl Ralf held’, whilst, among other examples, Bramfield (Manni) and Hetherset (Norfolk, held by Ulf) have Domesday values given for three points in time rather than the more usual two. In addition to the values for 1066 and 1086, a third value is given

⁵⁸ LDB, 150, 296v, 297, 298: *DB Norf*, 4,52; *DB Suff*, 3,93;98;103. For others holding land ascribed to Ulf in 1066, see below, n.73.

⁵⁹ For more on this principle, see P. H. Sawyer, ‘1066–1086: a Tenurial Revolution?’ in his *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, London 1985, 71–85; R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, Cambridge 1991, chapters 4–5; D. R. Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book*, Oxford 2001, 20–4; A. Williams, ‘Meet the *Antecessores*: Lords and Land in Eleventh-Century Suffolk’, in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. S. Keynes and A. P. Smyth, Dublin 2005, 275–87.

⁶⁰ GDB, 149, 196v, 168: *DB Bucks*, 18,1; *DB Cambs*, 20,2; *DB Gloucs*, 46,1–3.

which indicates either that the land had passed through intermediate hands between 1066 and 1086, or was only transferred during that period.⁶¹ It seems likely that both Manni and Ulf lost their estates between 1066 and 1075 and that they were taken over by the then earl, Ralf. Not only his involvement but his later forfeiture and the redistribution of his lands caused the fragmentation of the estate.⁶² As already noted, the same tenorial confusion might have affected the lands of other members of the kin-group such as Swein's son, Edward.⁶³ A list of the Norman lords who benefited from the decline of the Swart group also supports this theory as many of them (King William, Count Alan, Bishop Odo, and Roger Bigod among others) are known to have profited from Ralf's hasty disappearance from East Anglia.⁶⁴

We can surmise little more about Manni than the distribution of his estates and the identity of at least one, possibly three, of his sons. He attested no extant royal charters after those of the early 1040s in which he appears with his father, Azur. That the core of his holdings was in Suffolk is plain and, as if to reiterate that fact, he chose to direct his pious benefaction towards a powerful local shrine, that of St Edmund, which was also a favourite of King Edward. On that evidence alone it would seem a rash assumption that the Manni named in Surrey and Middlesex was the same individual as this East Anglian thegn. Yet, as has been seen in Essex, and to a lesser extent in Blything Hundred in Suffolk, this was a family that held land together. Where you find one member of the kin, you inevitably find the others.⁶⁵ In Surrey, there would be little reason to believe that the Ulf who preceded Miles Crispin as holder of the large (twenty-five hide) and important manor of Beddington could be linked with Ulf son of Manni.⁶⁶ Yet in 1066, one of the berewicks of Beddington (a five-hide estate at Chessington) was held by *Magni Svert* who was almost certainly his father. Whether Manni had granted the main estate to his son at some point before 1066, retaining only a small interest, or whether Ulf had gained Beddington through his own royal service and had given a portion to his father cannot be known.

In Ickenham (Elthorne Hundred) in Middlesex in the fief of Earl Roger, we have a reference to the holding of Alwine who was 'the man of Wulfsize son of Manni'.⁶⁷ Here the name (given as *vlsi* in Domesday) has been rendered by modern translators as the English form Wulfsize, rather than the Danish Ulf, but could have represented either form.⁶⁸ It is likely that the man to whom Alwine was commended was 'Ulf, a housecarl of King Edward', also described as 'a thegn of King Edward's' who

⁶¹ For a fuller explanation for appearance of these three-fold values in Little Domesday see: L. Marten, 'The Impact of Rebellion on Little Domesday', *ANS* 27, 2005, 132–150.

⁶² L. Marten, 'The Rebellion of 1075 and its Impact in East Anglia', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, Woodbridge 2005, 168–182.

⁶³ See above, n.41.

⁶⁴ Ulf is a more common name than Manni and it is possible that the holding of more than one individual is included in the following successors: the king (LDB, 121v 128 131v, 282v, 284, 284v; *DB Norf*, 1,85;147;186;208; *DB Suff*, 1,19;48;55); Roger Bigod (LDB, 180, 180v 181 185v 187v, 226, 229, 334v, 335; *DB Norf*, 9,76;94–6;98;159;161;163–4;184;186.20,6;27; *DB Suff*, 7,37).

⁶⁵ Again, the use of geographical proximity as a means of identifying kin group members is well known. See, for example, A. Williams, 'A West Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: the Family, Estates and Patronage of Beorhtic, son of Ælfgar', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1996, 41–68.

⁶⁶ GDB, 36v: *DB Surrey*, 29,1.

⁶⁷ GDB 129: *DB Middlesex*, 7,8.

⁶⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Of Danes – and Thanes – and Domesday Book', 112–13.

had held a further two estates within the county.⁶⁹ Also in Middlesex was the five-hide estate at Lisson Grove (Ossulstone Hundred) which had been the holding of Edward son of Swein, a 'man of King Edward'. By 1086 this estate was described as 'held in alms' by Eadgifu; she was almost certainly his widow, named as such in Essex.⁷⁰ Also in Geoffrey's fief are intriguing entries relating to 'Azur, the man of Esgar the Staller', recorded elsewhere in the county as 'Azur the *huscarl* of King Edward'.⁷¹ This could be an unrelated Azur but the coincidence of the family naming patterns in close proximity within this small county is striking. Azur Swart is unlikely to have been alive in 1066 (or some mention of him would surely be found in Essex), so these entries may be another example of Domesday employing out-of-date sources as data for the survey. The most famous example of this is the supposed tenure of Earl Godwine who died in 1052. It may be pure coincidence that Tofi the Proud had also held land in Middlesex, but once again the family or kin group are conspicuous through their habit of reinforcing their landholding in an area through kin relationships.

Tracing other lands held by Ulf is a complex process. Although named as Manni's son, he is never recorded in Domesday with the distinctive Swart by-name. Ulf is a much more common name than Manni, making nominal linkage difficult and, as has already been noted, the estate had been divided before 1086, undercutting the principle of antecessorial succession as a means of identification. Nevertheless, the cautionary tale from the abbey of Bury recorded Swart family holdings at Chippenham and Syleham which are both in Bishops Hundred, Suffolk. It is therefore likely that the Ulf who held an estate at Mendham in the same hundred was identical to Ulf son of Manni, and that he can also be identified as the man of that name who appears as the lord of a group of free men in Mendham who had passed into the hands of Roger of Poitou by 1086.⁷² Roger of Poitou also held a two-carucate estate at Hawkedon in Risbridge Hundred that had previously been held by Ulf, and again the proximity of this to other known holdings of Ulf son of Manni (and Manni himself) makes it likely that the same individual is involved. As will be seen, it is likely that Ulf held much more in East Anglia than can be easily discerned from Domesday alone.⁷³

As mentioned above, in the Middlesex entries Ulf was referred to as *huscarl regis*. It was once believed that this designation denoted a member of the king's standing army – a corps of troops bound together by a regulatory code and originally brought over by Cnut.⁷⁴ This is no longer the case, and a *huscarl* is best thought of

⁶⁹ Hanworth and Hillingdon (GDB, 129: *DB Middlesex*, 7,2;6); in both entries the name given is written as *Vlf*.

⁷⁰ GDB, 130v: *DB Middlesex*, 25,1.

⁷¹ GDB, 129v, 130: *DB Middlesex*, 9,9,5,11,1.

⁷² LDB, 349v, 379v: *DB Suff*, 8,42,19,2.

⁷³ For example, a group of manors and sokemen, previously held by a man named Ulf, appears in the Domesday folios of the king in Norfolk. Domesday makes it clear that these manors had also passed through the hands of Earl Ralf, and that many others ascribed to an Ulf in 1066 had descended to Roger Bigod. As sheriff of Norfolk (and probably Suffolk), Roger had gained extensive lands in the wake of the 1075 forfeitures of Ralf and his followers. The probability of a link between these various entries is increased by the fact that many of them are geographically close to Ulf's manor of Hethersett in Humbleyard Hundred: see particularly LDB, 178v, 180–181, 185–185v, 187: *DB Norf*, 9,76;94–6;98;159;161;163–4;184;186. The majority of these entries are concerned with the manors of Ketterington, Hethel and East Carleton and the numerous free men attached to them. These manors lie directly to the south of Ulf's manor of Hethersett.

⁷⁴ Using only antecessor as a guide and the knowledge that Ulf was described as *huscarl* in Bucks and Middlesex (see below) led Clarke to conclude that Ulf was 'if not actually in command of King Edward's

as a member of the king's household.⁷⁵ The term was predominantly used, however, to describe men of Danish extraction; 87 per cent of those described as such in contemporary sources have Old Norse nomenclature.⁷⁶ The same appellation can be found in Buckinghamshire where Ulf, a housecarl of King Edward, preceded Robert de Tosny as the holder of the seven-hide manor of Stone.⁷⁷ Also in Yardley Hundred, Gilbert de Ghent held manors formerly held by 'Ulf, a thegn of King Edward' and by 'a certain man of Ulf'; the latter was held in 1086 from Gilbert by Swarting.⁷⁸ This same folio records the holdings of Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had gained the lands of 'Swarting, a man of Esgar the Staller', and which are interlaced with entries relating to 'Ulf, a man of Esgar the Staller' and 'Swein, a man of Esgar the Staller'; virtually all the lands in question lying within the northern hundreds of Buckinghamshire and often in close proximity to each other.⁷⁹ This Swein is almost certainly to be identified with *Suen swart* (also described as a 'man of Earl Edwin') who held the manor of Lamport Musley in 1066, lost to Walter Giffard by the time of the Domesday survey.⁸⁰ Other predecessors of Walter include *Swarting* and Ulf, both described as men of Esgar.⁸¹ The lack of clear antecessorial succession makes identification difficult in Buckinghamshire (as does the presence of a well-known thegn called Ulf of Shenley or Ulf, son of Burgheard) but such a juxtaposition of names that are Danish in origin is unusual in this county.⁸² Once again, the Swarts are present both as individuals and as members of a kin group with holdings in close proximity.

Despite the problems, examples of the same 1066–1086 succession can be found elsewhere in the country. As well as the Suffolk antecessorial connection already identified, in Domesday Cambridgeshire an Ulf, succeeded by Robert de Tosny, held an estate at Duxford and in Gloucestershire, Ulf and then Robert de Tosny held the manors of Great Rissington, Horton, Sapperton and Frampton Mansell.⁸³

The only members of the group that can be identified as still holding land in 1086 were Swarting and Eadgifu, the widow of Edward. Swarting had not only survived, but had gained in the wake of the Conquest. In 1066, 'Swarting, a man of Esgar the Staller' held an estate in Leckhampstead in Buckinghamshire. It appears

troops, ... at least [one of the] leaders within his guard'. He then went on to state that the geographical spread of Ulf's property indicated 'a newly created estate' and suggested that this – together with Ulf's Scandinavian name – indicated that he had 'come to England from across the North Sea, and made [his] career as [a] successful warrior' (P. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor*, Oxford 1994, 128–9). This was patently not the case for Ulf, although may have been for his grandfather.

⁷⁵ N. Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 7, 1985, 161–76.

⁷⁶ Hooper, 'Housecarls', 175.

⁷⁷ GDB, 149: *DB Bucks*, 18,1. The Bishop of Bayeux also held 7 hides in Stone, previously held by two brothers, one of whom was 'a man of Ulf's': *GDB* 144.

⁷⁸ GDB, 149v: *DB Bucks*, 22,1–2.

⁷⁹ GDB, 149v: *DB Bucks*, 21,1–8. Identifications in Buckinghamshire can be difficult, not least because of the presence of Ulf, son of Burgheard (of Shenley and Mendlesham, see below), necessitating a cautious approach.

⁸⁰ GDB, 147v: *DB Bucks*, 14,25. S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 2007, 226–7, also notes the presence of 'Swein Swarthy' in Bucks but does not connect him with the rest of his kin.

⁸¹ GDB, 147v; 148: *DB Bucks*, 14,30;45.

⁸² J. Bradbury, 'An Introduction to the Buckinghamshire Domesday' in *The Buckinghamshire Domesday*, ed. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, London 1988, 1–36. There is no obvious link between this family and Esgar the staller recorded in the Essex folios of Domesday, although Esgar held extensive lands within the county.

⁸³ GDB, 168: *DB Gloucs*, 46,1–3.

that this estate had been split by 1086 as Swarting is recorded as the predecessor of both Geoffrey de Mandeville for 3½ hides and of Walter Giffard for 2 hides.⁸⁴ He had also held Southcote, a part of Ulf's manor of Stone (held in 1086 by William son of Constantine).⁸⁵ Despite no longer holding these estates in 1086, Swarting had not completely lost out. As well as land in Waldridge (Ixhill Hundred) held from Geoffrey de Mandeville, Swarting also held in Cheddington (Yardley Hundred) from William fitzAnsculf, Pitstone and Horton (both Yardley Hundred; the latter had formerly been held by Ulf) from Miles Crispin, and another holding in Horton from Gilbert de Ghent.⁸⁶ A man of that name also held from Geoffrey de Mandeville in Northamptonshire.⁸⁷ In Suffolk, at least, Swarting may well have lost his estates before 1069 x 1070 as many are listed as having passed through the hands of William Malet who died fighting rebels in the Fens at that time. Such a confused structure of holdings in 1086 suggests that Swarting was a ministerial official who survived (as did so many) by making himself useful to the new Norman regime and whose landholdings were granted anew, perhaps to ensure that his loyalty was to his new lords.⁸⁸ Eadgifu had another way of surviving after the death of her husband, Edward son of Swein. Sometime after 1086 she married Otto the goldsmith, himself a widower, an Essex landholder and a tenant of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk.⁸⁹ As the craftsman commissioned to work upon the tomb of William the Conqueror, Otto was in a position to offer Eadgifu a comfortable situation at the end of her life.⁹⁰

It is highly likely that Ulf in particular held other lands that cannot be assigned to him from the Domesday evidence alone due to the lack of corroborating evidence. Despite this, it is clear just how rewarding royal service had been for successive generations of this family. The pattern of Ulf's landholding illustrates that he had both gained land from his family connections and that he had added greatly to these East Anglian estates through his own service to the king. The rewards of service could be inherited, but the process of inheritance tended to fragment estates and so, if possible, the pattern of service and reward needed to be renewed every generation, particularly if political and dynastic changes threatened the personal relationships that lay at the heart of Anglo-Saxon governance.

The rewards of royal service may have been 'a seat in the king's hall'⁹¹ but as landholders, thegns were important men within local communities. Manni was probably quite young when he accompanied his father to the 1046 meeting of the royal court at which he gave his name to attest a grant of land in Essex⁹² and he

⁸⁴ GDB, 147v; 149v: *DB Bucks*, 14,30.21,7.

⁸⁵ GDB, 151v: *DB Bucks*, 33,1.

⁸⁶ GDB, 149v, 148v, 150v, 149v: *DB Bucks*, 21,2.17,13.23,27–8.22,2.

⁸⁷ GDB, 227v: *DB Northants*, 45,2. Swarting also held in Hampshire in both 1066 and 1086 (GDB, 39v, 51, 53, 54: *DB Hants*, 1W8.NF3,5.10W 7,5.9,13) and Berkshire in Wallingford (GDB, 56: *DB Berks*, B1).

⁸⁸ For further examples of this, see the fate of some ministerial officials in East Anglia following the rebellion of 1075: Marten, 'Rebellion of 1075 and its Impact on East Anglia', 179–81.

⁸⁹ Otto had previously been married to Leofgifu; see Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 158, 314. For Otto in Domesday, see GDB, 190; LDB, 3v, 4, 98, 106v, 286v: *DB Cambs*, 1,18; *DB Essex*, 1,11–12. B3j,81; *DB Suff*, 1,97–9,14,13. For their marriage, see Keats-Rohan, *COEL*, person no.121. Lisson Grove descended to Otto's son by his first marriage.

⁹⁰ Orderic, IV, 110; D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, London 1932, cxx–cxxxix.

⁹¹ 'Geþyncð' in *EHD*, I, 432.

⁹² S. 1015. Manni (as would have befitted his youth) was the last of the those named as witnesses, but it must have been quite an occasion for a young man to attend with the king, both archbishops, five bishops,

clearly retained connections with the family holdings in Essex. Yet as an adult, he was probably seen as a Suffolk thegn; he held land across the county, patronized the local shrine and in endowing his sons with land there, he introduced them into the county community and no doubt used their consequent right to attend the shire court in support of his own position. Ulf, *huscarl regis*, may have held land in many counties across England by 1066, but in Suffolk he was still known as *Ulf filius mannigswart*, Manni's son. The reason for these 'discrepancies' in nomenclature lie simply with the different methods of recording names by different hundred juries and scribes during the process of Domesday data collection and editing. The appellation *huscarl*, for example, is generally only used in Domesday's Circuit III (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex) and its non-appearance in other areas indicates nothing more than different methods of collecting and recording data.

But wherever they held land, they held it together: Azur Swart, Swein Swart, Manni Swart and Edward in Essex; Manni, Ulf, Swein, Swarting and Swart Hoga in Suffolk; Manni and Ulf in Surrey; Manni, Ulf, Edward and possibly Azur in Middlesex and Swein, Ulf and Swarting in Buckinghamshire. This kin group articulated and reinforced the bonds of kinship in two distinct ways, through their naming patterns and through the geographical proximity of their landholdings. It is worth examining both of these techniques in some detail as they shed some light upon the politics of settlement in the eleventh century.

Those kinship bonds were evidently extremely important to the Swart family. It is rare to come across such a widespread use of a distinctive by-name over several generations of the same family, although the practice is certainly not unknown in eleventh-century England. The consistent use of the appellation Swart could in itself be interpreted as evidence for their status as relative newcomers in English society; immigrants are often known to use names to hold onto a sense of identity based upon their land of origin, and the continued use of Danish nomenclature through two of three generations of settlement in England might well be an example of such practice.⁹³

The use of names across several generations by the Swart kin-group might also have been an indication of political affiliation and can be used to illustrate some of the ways in which thegnly families adjusted to the changing conditions throughout the eleventh century. Cnut was very successful as an 'English king' between 1016 and 1035 and is clearly portrayed as such in English sources, but it is sometimes instructive to remember that he presided over a court where the pervading political and social culture was one in which being Danish would have been a distinct advantage. Though married to women who were either native-born English (*Ælfifu* of Northampton) or naturalized English (*Ælfifu/Emma*), Cnut used names from his own Danish lineage for his sons (Swein, Harold and Harthacnut) even though his marriages have generally been seen as a means of reconciliation with his English people.⁹⁴ The skaldic poetry produced at and for Cnut's court and the use of Scandinavian artistic motifs on decorative works are examples of what Judith Jesch has labelled 'cultural paganism' – the use and acceptance of traditional 'heathen'

three abbots and six earls as well as the *ministers* Ulfcytel and Ætsere (Manni's father), all witnessing above him.

⁹³ C. Clark, 'English Personal Names ca. 650–1300: some Prosopographical Bearings', *Medieval Prosopography* 8, 1987, 31–60.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 226–7.

ideas and themes at the outwardly Christian king's court.⁹⁵ One stanza from the fragmentary '*Knútsdrápa*' serves as an example of the mix of Christian and pagan imagery with a reassuring (to Danes anyway) expression of Cnut's patronage of his own men:

Erat und jarðar höslu
– Orðbrjótr Dönum forðar
Moldreks – munkar valdi
Mæringr en þú nærri.

(There is no prince nearer to the ruler of monks [God] under the earth-hazel [Yddrasil, the world tree] than you; the breaker of the words of the soil-ruler [giant→gold→generous man] protects Danes).⁹⁶

Within the region where the Swart kin held the core of their lands, significant Danes such as Thorkell the Tall (earl of East Anglia until 1023), and prominent land-holders such as Osgod Clapa and Tofi the Proud (until the 1040s) were an integral part of the audience for such poetry in the king's hall, and in the exercise of rule and power in the shires; as *huscarls* of the king, the Swarts were part of this cultural milieu. Even in their personal appearance, such men proclaimed their heritage. Osgod Clapa, for example, was described by a monk at the shrine of St Edmund in Bury St Edmunds as 'proudly bearing armlets on both arms, his gilt-inlaid axe slung from his shoulder in the Danish fashion'.⁹⁷ That this is not simply the prejudiced view of a disgruntled monk is shown by the comparable description of the crew of the ships gifted by Earl Godwine to his king. They wore 'two golden armlets and a Danish axe, inlaid with gold and silver, hung from the left shoulder'.⁹⁸ The important point here though is that such men were proud to be Danish within the context of an English polity ruled over by Danish kings. The names of children born to a mix of English-Danish parents at this time usually demonstrate the contemporary fluidity of naming patterns – the example of Earl Godwine's children with his Danish wife, Gytha (Harold, Swein, Tostig, Gyrth, Leofwine and Eadgyth) being the most obvious example of many.⁹⁹ Even Tofi the Proud had a son named Æthelstan. In this context, the Swarts appear almost defiantly Danish in their choice of names – Manni, Ulf, Swein, Swartingr, Swart Hógr – despite the only two marriages that we can trace being to English women, Æthelgyth and Eadgifu.

When the dynastic pendulum swung back to favour the native-born Edward the Confessor in 1041, however, being Danish suddenly became a possible indication of the wrong political sympathies. After Edward had established himself, notable Danes at court either left or were exiled from 1043.¹⁰⁰ The Swart family were swift

⁹⁵ J. Jesch, 'Scandinavians and "Cultural Paganism" in Late Anglo-Saxon England' in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. P. Cavill, Cambridge 2004, 55–68. See also R. Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds' in *The Reign of Cnut*, ed. A. R. Rumble, Leicester 1994, 124.

⁹⁶ Text and translation from Jesch, 'Cultural Paganism', 59.

⁹⁷ '[A]rmillas ... in brachiis ..., Danico more deaurata securi in humero dependente' (*Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols, RS 96, 1890–9, I, 54).

⁹⁸ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 2 vols, Oxford 1995, II, 530–31, s.a. 1040. This description may have been based upon one in the *Vita Eadwardi Regis*; see S. Keynes and R. Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', *ASE* 38, 2009, 185–223 at 203.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Earngeat son of Grim and Earnsige son of Ocea, in Williams, 'Cockles', 14–15. Tofi the Proud's son was given the English name Æthelstan and the son of Edward the Confessor's nephew, Ralf, had the Scandinavian name Harold.

¹⁰⁰ Tofi the Proud probably died around 1043/4. Despite being Edward's mother, Cnut's queen Emma was disgraced in 1043, Gunnhild, Cnut's sister and her children were exiled in 1044, as was Osgod Clapa in 1046.

and conspicuous in demonstrating their allegiance to the new ruler; not only did they make generous donations to Edward's favoured religious house, but it must be extremely likely that the birth and naming of Edward son of Swein, the first non-Danish name in the family, dates from this period. Traditional naming patterns gave way to political expediency in a move that was clearly successful. As Ann Williams herself noted, there are comparatively few instances of individuals in Domesday given the appellation *danus* or *dacus*, 'the Dane'; the politics of Edward's reign is undoubtedly one reason as to why such nomenclature fell out of fashion.

As Domesday reveals, the bonds of kinship for the Swarts were not only articulated through their names but also through the proximity of tenurial holdings; even in counties where the kin group had only a small presence (such as Middlesex), multiple members of the group can be identified. This 'doubling up' of family members would have reinforced the presence of individual landholders at meetings of the hundred or shire court. With the exception of Chafford Hundred in Essex or Blything in Suffolk, it is difficult to see where this situation is likely to have arisen simply due to the dispersal of inherited landholdings. Instead, this appears to have been a deliberate policy by the kin group to maximize their presence in key situations. This was probably a defensive strategy employed by a kin-group without historical ties to either the people or the places in which they held land. If so, it reinforces our understanding of them as relative newcomers to England and shows how these strategies continued to be used even after the first generation of settlers, but it also shows a shrewd understanding of English customs and practice.¹⁰¹

Although not great men, the fluctuating fortunes of the Swart family in England can be viewed through the lens of national political events; offering some insight into the settlement of Cnut's followers after 1016 and the politics of the 1040s. They also offer a rare opportunity to see just how one family of settlers, not of royal or *earlisc* rank, managed to adapt and integrate into English society. Through intermarriage with English women, the careful use of religious patronage, the deliberate interlacing of tenurial holdings and dedicated service in the king's household, the Swart kin-group extended their landholdings from their base in Essex to encompass over twelve counties by 1066. Initially proud to display their Danish heritage, they were prepared to adapt to the prevailing political situation when Edward the Confessor took the throne. In places in Domesday, their Danish origins will have contributed to the appellation *huscarl*, but in most places Manni, Ulf, Swein and Edward were simply described as thegns alongside their contemporaries. Despite their success after arriving in England thanks to the first eleventh-century conquest of England they, like the vast majority of English thegns, were swept away by the fallout from the second one fifty years later, with the only (traceable) surviving members a widow and a ministerial official.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the role of individuals and local courts (in a Domesday context but employing earlier evidence as well), see R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, Cambridge 1998, 17–45.

¹⁰² See A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995.

THE MONEYERS OF KENT IN THE LONG ELEVENTH CENTURY¹

Hirokazu Tsurushima

And let us take thought very earnestly about the improvement of the peace and the improvement of the coinage. (II Cnut 8)²

This paper is an attempt to construct a prosopography of Kentish moneyers in the long eleventh century, that is, from c. 973 to 1135. The starting date is a significant one. In that year King Edgar was crowned and one of his first acts was to reform the coinage of England. In the early Middle Ages, the minting of coin was in principle a regalian right throughout much of western Europe. On the Continent, however, that right had gradually been appropriated by local independent rulers in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries as the unity of the Frankish empire broke down. By contrast, the same period in England saw the emergence of a single coinage for a united kingdom of the English. Edgar's reform of the coinage was the decisive turning point in the process. Before his reign there had been no uniform and kingdom-wide issues, but thereafter a single standardized penny was struck at authorized mints³ across the country.⁴ It bore the portrait of the king and his title on the obverse and the names of the moneyer and mint around a central cross on the reverse,⁵ and its design was regularly changed.⁶ Measures to control purity of silver

¹ I am most grateful to Dr Martin Allen for making available to me his own list of Kentish moneyers from 1087 to 1135 and for his astute comments on the arguments here presented. This paper is the better for his generous help. Thanks are also due to Dr Gareth Williams who kindly gave me a chance to explore the coins minted in Kent preserved in the British Museum, and to Dr William Aird, Professor Peter Coss and Professor Stephen Church who provided access to their university libraries to further my researches. Without the painstaking help of Dr Ann Williams and Dr David Roffe, I could not have written even one sentence of this paper. It is my particular privilege to have received all such help.

² *EHD*, I, 410.

³ As a matter of convenience, I use the term 'mint' in this paper. However, as John Brand suggests that 'before 1180, there was not a mint, but there were a number of independent moneyers' (*The English Coinage 1180–1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges*, British Numismatic Society Special Publication 1, 1994, 18), the reader should understand the word to indicate a local association of moneyers.

⁴ R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Edgar', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F. M. Stenton on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday, 17 May 1960*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley, London 1961, 136–68; I. Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C. E. Challis, Cambridge 1992, 1–82; V. J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 1016–1042', unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham, October 1981; V. J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973–1016', *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis* 2, 1968, 191–276; V. J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage: the Danish dynasty 1017–42', *ASE* 16, 1987, 233–308.

⁵ Frankish coins were slightly heavier. The silver Carolingian penny generally weighs 1.70 grams. The inscription of coins was aniconic, probably influenced by epigraphical types of the Islamic world. The coins minted in England used an image of the king, as in late Roman practice (Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 13–14).

⁶ Henry I seems to have abolished the regular, short-term alternations of type in issuing his type 15 (type 59 in the Appendix) in 1125, but King Stephen revived the old system. The basic characteristics of

ensured the integrity of the coinage and the centralization of die production enabled the crown to maintain close control.⁷ The effects were far-reaching. The reform of 973 underpinned the English coinage until the end of the reign of Henry I in 1135⁸ and enabled successive monarchs to levy tributes and Danegelds on an unprecedented scale throughout the realm.⁹ In no small part, the production of standardized coin of consistently high quality in this way fostered the precocious development of royal government in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰

It also led to increased economic prosperity. As Peter Spufford has pointed out, 'the increase in the number of mints at work in the boroughs of late Anglo-Saxon England from twenty-five in the 970s to seventy by the end of that century seems to confirm the relationship between urban prosperity and the plentiful supply of coin which was made possible by the renewed flow of silver from Germany'.¹¹ Peter Sawyer maintained that '[n]ative sources of silver were exploited but they do not seem adequate to explain the large accumulation of the metal acquired by the English in the eleventh century' and continued to suggest that 'had English silver come largely from native sources the kings of the time would not have needed to impose taxes on the scale they did'. He concluded that the wool trade with the Continent produced the wealth of England.¹² The English stock of silver was

the monetary system founded by Edgar and Æthelred II continued into the reign of Edward I until 1279, although the reform of Henry II in 1158 finally abolished the short-term changeover of the type, and that in 1180 separated the role of money changer from that of moneyer.

⁷ It was Æthelred II and Cnut who established the rules of the standardized monetary system in England. They stipulated that it was only the king who could have a monopoly on coinage: 'No one except for the king shall have a moneyer' (Robertson, III Atr, 8–1), and defined a small number of the selected moneyers: 'In every principal town there shall be three and in every other town there shall be one' (Robertson, IV Atr, 9). These two articles are not compatible with the historical facts, or the earlier decree of Æthelstan at Grately (Attenborough, II Ath, 14.2), but the important points here are that the king had an effective monopoly on issuing the set of dies and that the moneyers were the recipients of the sets of dies and of a minting licence. The law codes also forbade false coins: 'Every moneyer who is accused of striking false coins shall go to the triple ordeal' (Robertson, III Atr, 8); 'A watch shall be kept for those who coin base money' (Robertson, IV Atr, 8); 'Moneyers who work in secret places shall forfeit their lives' (Robertson, III Atr, 16). On the other hand, they stipulated purity of coin: 'He was responsible for the production by their employees of pure money of the proper weight' (Robertson, IV Atr, 9–1); 'Every weight shall be stamped according to the standard employed in the King's mint' (Robertson, IV Atr, 9–2). The king commanded that his pure coins be circulated throughout the country: 'No one shall refuse pure money wherever it has been coined' (Robertson, IV Atr, 6). For the wider import of this legislation, see P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, Oxford 1999, 449–65; E. Screen, 'Anglo-Saxon Law and Numismatics: a reassessment in the light of Patrick Wormald's *The Making of English Law*', *British Numismatic Journal* 77, 2007, 150–72.

⁸ M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency under Henry I: a Review', *ANS* 13, 1991, 49–81. Reform in and after the time of Henry II was characterized by a tendency to centralization of the coinage, a process reflected in a decrease in the number of mints, the dominance of the London mint, and a much longer re-coining cycle (N. J. Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting, 1158–1464', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. Challis, 83–179 at 83).

⁹ A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500–1066* London 1999, 99, 130, 144, 211.

¹⁰ Cf. D. Roffe, 'Inquests in Medieval England', *The Haskins Society Journal Japan* 4, 2011, 18–24.

¹¹ P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge 1988, 74–9; P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community*, New Haven 1995, 24. It was Otto I who presided over the discovery of silver mines at Goslar and vitalized the new minting activity in Germany in the 960s, which might possibly have affected Edgar's coronation and the monetary reform.

¹² P. Sawyer, 'The Wealth of England in the Eleventh century', *TRHS*, 5th series 15, 1965, 145–64 at 159. Bede wrote that England was 'rich in veins of metal: copper, iron, lead, and silver' (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969), 16. However, the extraction of silver was limited in time and locality. There has been debate over the extent

mainly invested in coinage and the new silver was added to the stock by minting.¹³ The mints targeted in this study – Canterbury, Dover, Hythe, Lympne, Rochester, Romney and Sandwich – were all located on the sea-coast or the mouths of rivers, at entry points to and from the Continent, where foreign coin or bullion had to be exchanged for English pennies and re-minted.¹⁴

Canterbury was the oldest; it had played a leading role in the production of coin from the reign of Offa in the 790s.¹⁵ Rochester had almost as long a history, appearing as a minting place by 810.¹⁶ The mints at Lympne and Dover came into existence in the reign of King Edgar; Lympne continued to mint coins only until c. 1035, although by then it had long ceased to be a seaport due to the build-up of silt.¹⁷ Hythe took its place, appearing c. 1044, and a mint opened at Sandwich c. 1042. The vast majority of the moneyers of these mints are known from the surviving coins that they struck (Appendix, Table A2). In addition, however, there are a number of references to them in written sources of the period. From this material it is not always possible to draw firm conclusions. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to elucidate the status of moneyers, their relationships, and working methods.

We can start with a basic question: what made a moneyer? A moneyer was the recipient of a set of dies issued under the king's authority. He was no simple metal worker, no workman 'who actually struck the coin', but someone who 'had responsibility for guaranteeing the security of dies and the quality of the silver'; a gang-master of a whole group of craftsmen.¹⁸ The activities of these lesser craftsmen can be illustrated by a story from the *Miracles of St Augustine*, written by Goscelin of St Bertin in the late eleventh century.¹⁹ It concerns three townsmen (*cives*) of Canterbury, the brothers Wifronius and Æthelred and Æthelred's son Sired, who by the exercise of their craft rose from poverty to a comfortable prosperity (*de inopia ad divitem sufficientiam*). The three men in partnership travelled though the cities and towns of England, seeking out metalworkers of all kinds, including moneyers, from whom they acquired the by-products of their trade, cast-

of local silver mines. Blanchard and Claughton estimate a considerable output of domestic silver during the twelfth century, but Allen has expressed scepticism about their arguments (I. Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 2001; P. Claughton, 'Silver Mining in England and Wales, 1066–1500', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2003; M. Allen, 'Silver Production and the Money Supply in England and Wales 1086–c. 1500', *EcHR* 64, 2011, 114–31).

¹³ D. M. Metcalf, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds 973–1086*, London 1998, 28–30.

¹⁴ In the spring of 1113 Flemish merchants brought 300 marks for the purchase of wool, which they collected for shipment from Dover (Sawyer, 'The Wealth of England', 162, citing Herman, *De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudunesis*, ii. 4–5, PL 154, cols. 975–7). The thirteenth-century chronicler, Matthew Paris expands on this theme: 'In the meantime the castellan of Dover, who kept a careful watch over the coast and was an unfailing scrutinizer of travellers, found many laden with the much desired coin, which they were taking out to the aliens; these he quickly relieved of their burdens, that they might travel more easily' (*English Historical Documents, III 1189–1327*, ed. H. Rothwell, London 1975, 103).

¹⁵ P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, with new introduction by Simon Keynes, 3rd edn, Cambridge 2003, 290. A coin is extant which was minted in Canterbury in the reign of Eadbald, king of Kent (616–640): EMC number 2001.1003; P. Bagwell Purefoy, 'The Coinage of William I in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 128, 2008, 59–74 at 36 and 60; Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 12.

¹⁶ Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 27.

¹⁷ K. P. Witney, 'Development of the Kentish Marshes in the Aftermath of the Norman Conquest', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 107, 1989, 36; S. Brooks and S. Harrington, *The Kingdom and People of Kent, AD 400–1066*, Stroud 2010, 135.

¹⁸ A. Woolfe, *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070*, Edinburgh 2007, 251.

¹⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vi, 402; English paraphrase in W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, London 1967, 113 (the reference to *Acta Sanctorum* therein is inaccurate, p. 402 being given as p. 405).

ings, ashes, dross (*purgamentum*), litharge (*spuma*), slag (*scoria*), broken crucibles, and 'skewings' (*scopaturas*), which they then treated to recover any vestiges of precious metals. One day, they came to Bath, where, according to their custom, they bought a lot of skewings and carried them down to the river bank nearby to wash. On the way, however, they damaged the king's highway by digging up a huge stone (*pergrandem lapidem de regia via extractum*), and were as a consequence arrested by the governors and justices of the town (*praesides et iudices oppidi*). Wifronius and Æthelred bought their freedom with a payment of 20*s.* in silver, but since Sired, being younger, had no such resources, he was only freed by the intervention of St Augustine.²⁰

The story shows us a group of metalworkers, based in Canterbury, but travelling widely to exercise their craft of cupellation, a metallurgical process in which ores or alloyed metals are treated under high temperatures to extract precious metals (gold or silver).²¹ Since all English moneyers would have required such workers, to extract the remnants of silver from the dross, the three men, Wifronius, Æthelred and Sired, who appear to have been particularly skilful, were much in demand, and were able to amass considerable wealth. Their success may in itself have caused problems, for though they were arrested for trespass upon the king's highway, their activities may have become the object of resentment among the local inhabitants of Bath, especially the metal-workers or moneyers.²² In the event, the justices of Bath

²⁰ 'Novit Cantuaria tres cives suos, quorum duo videntur germani, Wilfronius et Ælredus, tertius Ælredi filius Siredus, qui pari solertia et arte vitam alebant, et de inopia ad divitem sufficientiam excreverant.... Hi tres, id est duo fratres et ex secundo natus tertius, ob quem maxime haec series textitur, ambiebant pariter diversas Angliae civitates et artificum fabricas. Indagabant curiose, aurifices, argentarios, monetarios, trapezitas, ceterorumque metallorum fusores, pro illorum fusilibus cineribus et purgamentis, pro spumis et scoriis vel testularum fragmentis, in quibus massas suas liquefecerant, aestimata pretia offerentes; has reliquias emptas corradebant et conscopabant, unde vulgo huiusmodi collectas scopaturas vocitant, quas illi torridis fluentis albluebant, comflatamque duritiem duro lapide comminuebant, his minutis suo igni conflatis pretiosam massam extorquebant. In tali negotio venientes ad oppidum, quod a balneis calidis ibidem scatulentibus, Bathan Anglice nuncupatur, emptasque ex more copiosas arsuras, quas dicunt scopaturas, ad proximum flumen ferebant diluendas. Sed temerarie et inconsulte pergrandem lapidem de Regia via extractum secum tulere, videntes illum validum ad conterendas testas et ipsas arsuras igni concretas. Hinc indignati Praesides et Iudices oppidi irruunt in eos, ut sunt passim homines ferini hiantes ad praedam, raptosque hos tres advenas, velut Regii juris invasores et publicos praedones, simul in arctissimum cippum omni compede durius constrinxere. Addunt ferreas manicas manibus, et collaria ferrea in cervicibus, ita ut per medium maceriae lapidei cubiculi transducta vincula obserarentur: nam ex lapidum copia omnia ibi lapidea sunt habitacula. At captivis tali tormento aliquamdiu arctatis, duo germani qui erant semili defectu, impatientes supplicii ac pene absumendi, datis fidejussoribus pro viginti solidis argenti, cum suis mercibus sunt dimissi. Juvenem vero, aspectu elegantem et robustum corpore, quem superius notavimus secundi fratris filium, cum exactores vidissent nil offerentem, quem putabant pecuniosiore suamque expleturum ingluviem, atrocioribus tormentis ac terroribus aggrediuntur. Stringuntur surae et ossa arctiori ligno, incussis sudibus coacto: duplicantur catenae manibus et collo, vallatur vinctus custodibus acsi ferreo muro. Inter hos cruciatus anxius et anxietate insopitus, domesticum civilis Cantuariæ Patronum altis gemitibus invocare Augustinum, ut qui primus Angliam a captivitate diaboli laxavit, et ferreos nexu solvere novit, quique ubivis gentium se poscentes tuetur, suum ultimum famulum a tribulantibus manibus liberare dignetur.'

²¹ The silver ores or debased (foreign) silver pennies were thrown into lead melted at a high temperature to make an alloy, which was put in a cupel (a vessel probably made of oak bark of bedded ash formed in a wire basket to absorb litharge) and reheated. It reacted with air to produce the silver on the top of the ash and lead monoxide (PbO: litharge). Dross, litharge, and slag are all by-products of the smelting process (S. Rippon, P. Claughton and C. Smart, *Mining in a Medieval Landscape*, Exeter 2009, 97–9). I am not concerned here with the process of assay, which needs further research.

²² Metal working also needed fuel, so that it might well encroach on local rights and pose hazards for the environment. King Edward I granted to his tinnors that all of them in Devon might dig tin and turf for smelting tin everywhere in his lands. In 1388 local people brought an action against the tin workers

seem to have settled the case amicably, and the two older men were let off with a fine of 20s., though much heavier fines are recorded for breach of the peace on the king's highway.²³ Wifronius and Æthelred seem to have been able to raise this sum quite easily, and the fact that Sired could not suggest that they were masters while he was only an apprentice.

All three were resident in Canterbury, of which they were 'citizens' (*cives*), and since their story appears in Goscelin's *Miracles of St Augustine*, it seems likely that they had some association with the abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury.²⁴ Of the seven moneyers assigned to Canterbury in the Grateley Code of King Æthelstan, one belonged to the abbot of St Augustine's.²⁵ No coins specify the persons who held such minting-rights, but some of the moneyers who struck coins at Canterbury in the tenth and eleventh centuries were presumably moneyers of St Augustine's. Two such moneyers bear names also found in Goscelin's miracle-story, namely Æthelred and Sired. Æthelred's name appears on three types²⁶ of King Edward the Confessor, type 24 (1053–1056), type 25 (1056–1059) and type 26 (1059–1062), while Sired's name appears on type 27 (1062–1065) and type 29 (1065–1066), as if he had succeeded to Æthelred. It is not possible to show conclusively that the moneyers Æthelred and Sired were the same persons as the metal-workers Æthelred and his son Sired who appear in Goscelin's miracle story; but it is a possibility. Perhaps Æthelred's success as a metalworker enabled him to gain enough wealth and status to become St Augustine's moneyer, and to pass his office to his son Sired. Indeed, since Æthelred's brother Wifronius was also a metal-worker, we might be seeing three members of the same family, whose techniques were passed down within the kin, each member being initiated by his father or master.

Æthelred and Sired appear on all the later coinages of Edward the Confessor, up to 1066, but thereafter they disappear. After his victory at Hastings on 14 October 1066, William marched into Kent, where the burgesses of Canterbury surrendered to him.²⁷ He imposed his authority by building a castle in the south of the city, just inside the walls, whose motte (Dane John) still survives.²⁸ According to *Domesday Book*, twenty-one houses were demolished to build this castle.²⁹ The site of the castle encroached on the property of both the archbishop, who was given seven houses in exchange, and of the abbot of St Augustine's, who received fourteen houses. A detailed list of compensation for the castle site specifies that Abbot Scoland was also given the churches of St Andrew and St Mary at Castle in return for the rents (*gablum*) of a (possibly) further eleven tenants. Two of the eleven are

(*Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Richard II*, 6 vols, PRO, 1914–27, III, 510, V, 195ff). I am grateful to Professor Kaoru Kitano for this reference.

²³ In Kent the fine for breach of the peace on the highway was £5 or £8 (GDB, 1: *DB Kent*, D12, 14); the sum of 20s. is (perhaps coincidentally) the sum paid by a moneyer for a new set of dies.

²⁴ Goscelin was a professional hagiographer who settled at St Augustine's, Canterbury, some time in the 1090s, making it his home until his death early in the twelfth century (A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, London 1974, 107–8).

²⁵ Robertson, II Æthelstan 14–2.

²⁶ The serial type numbers from Edgar to Henry I and their dates are intended only as a rough guide to chronology since the dating of individual types is often speculative. I am grateful to Dr Martin Allen for advice on this matter.

²⁷ Poitiers, 144.

²⁸ T. Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury in Domesday Book*, Canterbury Heritage Series No 1, Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Canterbury 1987, 41.

²⁹ GDB, 2; *DB Kent*, C1.

named Æthelred and Sired.³⁰ Again, we have no solid evidence that these are the same persons as the moneyers whom we have been discussing, but it is a possibility. If these tenants of St Augustine were indeed the moneyers of the 1050s and 1060s, then they survived the crisis of 1066 in possession of at least their urban properties, which probably lay in Ridington Ward.³¹

The fate of Sired the moneyer may have been bound up with the tangled history of the borough of Fordwich. The borough lay on the Wantsum Channel, which in the eleventh century still separated the Isle of Thanet from mainland Kent, and had been a trading port from early times.³² Since foreign coins were one of the main sources of silver in England, rights of toll in the seaports were extremely valuable.³³ The tolls of Fordwich had been a source of revenue since the eighth century, and in about 1055 King Edward confirmed lands and rights in the borough to St Augustine's.³⁴ Domesday Book shows that the Confessor had given the abbey the royal dues in the borough, while the earl's share (the third penny) remained with Godwine, and (after the Conquest) with Godwine's successor as earl in Kent, Odo of Bayeux, until Odo granted his share also to St Augustine's at some time between 1070 and 1082/83.³⁵ On the flight of Abbot Æthelsige (c. 1067), however, Haimo the sheriff received the borough of Fordwich, and though it seems that Æthelsige's successor Scolland was re-invested by William I, the abbey seems not to have recovered all its rights.³⁶ The inquest of 1086 (held during Haimo's shrievalty) assigned the 'small borough' of Fordwich to St Augustine's, and it is duly entered among the abbey's possessions in Domesday Book.³⁷ However the abbot did not entirely recover it until 1111, when Haimo II (the son of Haimo the sheriff) granted the town (*villam*) to Abbot Hugh de Flory (1099–1126) and the community of St Augustine's abbey.³⁸ Nothing directly connects the disappearance of Sired the moneyer with this series of events. It may not, however, be a coincidence that the first appearance of Æthelred the moneyer (type 24, dating between 1053 and 1056) coincides with the same king's confirmation of Fordwich to St Augustine's (c. 1055), nor entirely accidental that Sired (possibly Æthelred's son) ceases to strike coin soon before the flight of Abbot Æthelsige and the abbey's loss of control over the borough (c. 1067). Canterbury moneyers could and did strike coin in other places (see the example of Lympne, below), and if Sired and his father were moneyers of St Augustine's, they might have had some connection with the abbey's borough of Fordwich.

³⁰ Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 445, from the White Book of St Augustine's, London, TNA, E164/27, fo. 15v, and London, BL, Royal MS, I.B., xi, fo. 146v. The other nine were Godwine, Leifsi, Oswald, Wulfsi, Wulfred, Ketel, Wulfwold, Wulfric and But.

³¹ The Chronicle of William Thorne, though originating from a much later period, states that the abbot's mint was inside the city (*William Thorne's Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, ed. A. H. Davis, Oxford 1934, 94–5).

³² Brookes and Harrington, *The Kingdom and People of Kent AD 400–1066*, 82–4. Fordwich was called a 'small borough' in Domesday Book (GDB, 12: *DB Kent*, 7, 10).

³³ See above note 11.

³⁴ S 29, dated 763 or 764, is a grant of Eadberht II, king of Kent, to Abbess Sigeburga and her *familia* at St Peter's Minster, Thanet, of remission of toll due on two ships at Fordwich, and on a third at Fordwich and Sarre; Edward the Confessor's confirmation to St Augustine's (S 1092) is dated to 1055 by William Thorne (col. 1784).

³⁵ *Regesta*, Bates, nos. 84, 85. Odo was a generous benefactor to St Augustine's: see D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux', *Speculum* 50–1, 1975, 1–20.

³⁶ *Regesta*, Bates, no. 83. There are a number of difficulties with this writ.

³⁷ GDB, 12: *DB Kent*, 7, 10.

³⁸ London, BL, MS Cotton, Claudius D.x, f. 175r–v.

A third moneyer is probably identified by Haimo II's charter of restitution. The witnesses thereto on Haimo's part were Fulbert of Chilham³⁹ and his knight Hugh, Haimo son of Vital and his brother Robert, while those on the abbot's part included William the chaplain and his man Eustace, and William Calvel and his sons Robert and Baldwin.⁴⁰ The third party witnesses comprised eighteen townsmen, one of whom was an Agemund the moneyer.⁴¹ He had played an active role in striking coins between c. 1087 and c. 1135, including type 40 (1087–1089), type 41 (1089–1092), type 43 (1095–1098), type 44 (1098–1100), type 45 (1100–1102), type 46 (1102–1103), type 55 (1117–1119) and type 59 (1125–1135). His attestation to Haimo II's charter may suggest that he was a moneyer under the control of the abbot of St Augustine's.

A charter of Abbot Hugh II of Trottescliffe (1126–1151) may take the story a little further. Gregory the moneyer appears as the last of twenty-four witnesses, who included Rualon d'Avranches, Baldwin Cauvel and Athemund/Agemund junior.⁴² The date might be 1129–30, since Baldwin Cauvel was the son of William Calvel (mentioned above) and Rualon d'Avranches was sheriff of Kent in 1129–30.⁴³ The name Gregory is found on coins of type 57 (1121–1123) and type 58 (1123–1125). Although one newly found coin can easily demolish any established theory, there is no known crossover between this Gregory and Agemund the moneyer, though Agemund junior, who appears alongside Gregory on Abbot Hugh's charter, might be Agemund the moneyer's son. It is possible, therefore, that Gregory succeeded Agemund as a moneyer of St Augustine's. The last moneyer of the abbey, according to William Thorne's *Chronicle*, was Elverd Porrere, whom B. J. Cook identified with Ælferg.⁴⁴ The abbey lost the right to maintain a moneyer in 1161.⁴⁵ Inconclusive and incomplete as it is, our information allows us tentatively to identify four or five of the abbey of St Augustine's moneyers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

As far as is known, the St Augustine's moneyers only minted in Canterbury. It has been suggested, however, that moneyers could move between towns or have the right to strike coin at more than one town simultaneously.⁴⁶ In particular, small and newly-established towns did not always have their own resident moneyer, especially in the initial stages of their development. An instance of this is shown at Lympne, where coins issued between 979 and 1035 bear moneyers' names also found on

³⁹ He succeeded to the lands of Sired of Chilham (GDB, 10, 10v: *DB Kent*, 5, 138, 144, 159–60).

⁴⁰ William Calvel was the first Norman portreeve and married Matilda, sister of Haimo son of Vital (Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 62–3).

⁴¹ He attests in second position, after Aelred son of Sedegos, and is followed by Alured son of Godwin, Anscetill the baker, Wlifuin the porter, Wibald son of Aelfuun, Bernard son of Ermenald, Alfsin son of Tikelere, Godwine *diskenase*, William son of Brihtuuald, Robert de punt alto, Wlmer the fuller, Ranulf baius, Gerold the merchant, Burnoth, Guthuuold, Living the lorimer, and Aegelluacor son of Blakeman the priest.

⁴² The donation of Abbot Hugh of two mills to the sacristan (Claudius D.x, f. 98v).

⁴³ *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum Rotulum Pipae, Anno Tricesimo-Primo Regni Henrici Primi*, ed. J. Hunter, Record Commission, 1833, 63, 65; J. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks 24, London 1990, 50.

⁴⁴ *William Thorne's Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, 94. Elverd Porrere was identified with Alferg by D. F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: the Cross-and-Crosslets ('Tealby') type of Henry II*, London 1951, cxx–cxi.

⁴⁵ T. C. R. Crafter, 'Henry II, St Augustine's Dispute and the Loss of the Abbey's Mint Franchise', in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500–1250: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, ed. B. Cook and G. Williams, Leiden and Boston 2006, 601–16 at 604.

⁴⁶ Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 70.

Canterbury coins of the same period: Æthelstan, Eadweard, Godric, Leofing, Leofwine and Wine (Table 1). These names are not unusual but the pattern and the number of names involved suggest that we are dealing here with moneyers who struck both at Lympe and at Canterbury as required. Their activities may have been even more widespread, for the same names appear in connection with Dover. The only moneyer who seems to be established solely at Lympe between 979 and 991 is Eadstan (type 4 and 5), but he in turn might be the Eadstan who appears at Hastings between 991 and 997 (type 6) and subsequently at Bath from 997 to 1003 (type 7).⁴⁷ If all three names do belong to the same person, Eadstan was perhaps a peripatetic moneyer, or one who was looking for a vacant post. His suggested route from Lympe to Hastings and thence to Bath is reminiscent of the journey of Wifronius and Æthelred from Canterbury to Bath, and follows that of the herring trade between the south-east and the west Midlands.⁴⁸

Table 1 Moneyers' names at Canterbury and Lympe

Type (date)	Canterbury	Lympe
1 (973–975)	Ælfstan, Æthelstan , Boia/Boga, Wine	Æthelstan , Beorhtric
2 (975–978)	Æthelstan , Boia, Lifinc/Leofing, Wine	Æthelstan , Wine
4 (979–985)	Æthelstan , Boia, Duda, Eadweald, Lifinc/Leofing, Leofric, Leofstan, Wine	Æthelstan , Eadstan, Leofwine, Wine
5 (985–991)	Boia, Eadweald, Leofing, Leofstan, Wulfwig	Eadstan
7 (991–997)	Eadweard , Godwine, Goldwine, Leofing , Leofstan, Leofweald, Wulfwig	Eadweard , Leofing
8 (997–1003)	Ælfræd, Eadweald, Godwine, Godric , Leofing, Leofric, Leofstan, Wulfwi(g)	Godric
11 (1017–1023)	Alfraed, Ælfwine, Eadweald, Godwine, Leofnoth, Leofstan, Leofwig, Leofwine , Winedaeg, Wulfstan, Wynraed	Leofwine
12 (1023–1029)	Alfraed, Eadwine, Goddman, Godric, Godwine, Leofwig, Leofwine, Winedaeg, Winred, Wulfstan, Wulfwig, Wynraed	John
13 (1029–1035)	Alfraed, Beorhtraed, Goddman, Godwine, Leofnoth, Leofwig, Leofwine, Winedaeg, Wulfwig, Wynraed	Godric

Note: There was no moneyer at Lympe from 1003 to 1017. Godric was the last moneyer at Lympe.

Coins ceased to be struck at Lympe by 1035 and its role was taken over by Romney. By the reign of Edward the Confessor, Wulfmaer was the dominant moneyer here, striking type 19 (1042/1044: Paxe type). He was partly succeeded

⁴⁷ Information (via 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England' [hereafter PASE] at <http://www.pase.ac.uk/index.html>, accessed 7 February 2012) from 'Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds' and 'Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles', available at <http://www.cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc/>, accessed 07/02/2012. No Eadstan is recorded for the Hastings mint in Caroline Dudley, 'Saxon and Medieval Mints and Moneyers in Sussex,' in *Archaeology in Sussex to AD 1500*, ed. P. L. Drewett, Council for British Archaeology, 1978, 70–7.

⁴⁸ The archbishop of Canterbury owed 30,000 herrings to the abbot of Bath (H. Tsurushima, 'The Eleventh-Century in England through Fish-Eyes: Salmon, Herring, Oysters and 1066', *ANS* 29, 2007, 193–213 at 201–2).

by Windei, though Coc, possibly another migrant, appears on type 38 (1080–1083: Paxs)⁴⁹ and type 39 (1083–1089). Another moneyer, Aelfhef, was active in a run of types at both Pevensey and Sandwich in the late eleventh century.⁵⁰ It would have been easy for moneyers to move between the south coast sea-ports by ship.⁵¹ Indeed we should not forget the cross-Channel routes; the name of a Lympe moneyer called John, who struck type 12 (1023–1029), suggests that he might have come from the Continent.⁵²

Some established moneyers may have passed their professions on to their sons, as perhaps happened with Æthelred and Sired; the names of the Dover moneyers Cinsige (Cynesige) and Cynstan (Cynestan) have the same first element, which may indicate their kinship.⁵³ The unusual name of Windaeg appears on Canterbury coins running from 1017 (type 11) to 1037 (type 17) and from 1068 (type 33) to 1125–1135 (type 59), and such a long period of activity suggests that there were at least two or perhaps three men of this name, perhaps representing successive generations of a family of moneyers. This is not, however, the only possible explanation. The name of Osferth appears on coins of type 4 and type 5 (979–991) from the Dover mint, and on coins struck at Lincoln between 997 (type 5) to 1056 (type 24). The name is not particularly common and it is possible that all the references are to a single moneyer who moved from Dover to Lincoln in 997 (his name does not appear on the issues struck at Lincoln – types 4, 5, and 6 – between 979 and 997).⁵⁴ It does, however, appear on coins of the short-lived ‘Benediction Hand’ (type 6, c. 991), ‘a transitional issue that was only struck for a matter of months at the most, perhaps only weeks’, at towns as far apart as Rochester, London and Thetford.⁵⁵ Osferth’s name moreover continues to appear on coins issued at Lincoln down to 1056 (type 24).⁵⁶ The lengthy period of activity, coupled with the simultaneous appearance of Osferth’s name at three mints during the short life of the ‘Benediction Hand’, raises the possibility that we are dealing here not with a single individual but a body of men organized as a group under a controlling master-moneyer called Osferth. Names could be passed from father to son, or grandfather to grandson; could they also be shared by members of a group? If so, different individuals might strike coins in Rochester, London, and Thetford at almost at the same time, under their master Osferth whose name served as a kind of ‘brand-name’. A similar practice is found among swordsmiths, for the names of Ulfberht and Ingelri, found on blades dated from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, cannot represent individuals. The original Ulfberht ‘may have been a smith but he obviously was the founder and President of

⁴⁹ Dr Martin Allen (pers comm.) suggests to me that this Paxs (William I type 8) is more likely to be the first type of William II (1087–c. 1090). Judging from the meaning of ‘Pax’, this type might well be more appropriate for a coronation rather than the end of reign. However, the present author follows the accepted identification. Either way, the sequencing of these three moneyers is not greatly different.

⁵⁰ Stewart, ‘The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158’, 74.

⁵¹ Tsurushima, ‘The Eleventh-Century in England through Fish-Eyes’, 202–4.

⁵² Biblical names like John were uncommon in pre-Conquest England.

⁵³ R. S. Kinsey, ‘Anglo-Saxon Law and Practice Relating to Mints and Moneyers’, *The British Numismatic Journal* 29, 1960, 12–50 at 37–40. The Wulfwig who played an active role in producing type 8 (997–1003) at Canterbury may have been the father (or grandfather) of the Wulfwig who produced types 12 to 15 (1023–1040), also at Canterbury.

⁵⁴ H. R. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint c. 890–1279*, Gateshead 1970, 14, 15.

⁵⁵ Smart, ‘Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973–1066’, 218; P. Nightingale, ‘Some London Moneyers and Reflections on the Organization of English Mints in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 142, 1982, 34–50 at 42.

⁵⁶ The name of Osferth also appears in York (1017–1023) and London (1029–1036), but whether these references are to a single individual is impossible to say.

Ullberht, Ltd., which as a company long outlasted him'.⁵⁷ If the swordsmiths could have 'company names', why not the moneyers as well?

Such an explanation might account for the fact that certain names appear to be especially associated with moneyers over long periods and considerable distances. Of the thirty-seven references to the name Boia collected by PASE, thirty-two are associated with moneyers while the others include one layman, one priest, one monk and two people of unidentified status.⁵⁸ The name Man occurs fifty-one times in the same database, in every case associated with moneyers, although there are also nine instances of the name Mann (one whom was a goldsmith) and three instances of the name Manna.⁵⁹ The name Brunman appears nineteen times, in ten cases associated with moneyers, while Brunmann appears as the name of a tenth-century portreeve and an unidentified number of persons recorded in Domesday Book. When dealing with such evidence, it is important to allow for the difference in character between documentary and monetary sources; the space available on coins for the legend itself defines the spelling of the moneyer's name.⁶⁰ Too much weight should not therefore be placed on numbers alone, but even so, it seems clear that the names of Boia and Man were closely connected with moneyers.

Before 973, the name of Boia is associated with coins struck at Chester, Derby, Norwich, Canterbury and Southampton, with a concentration at Derby (Table 2).⁶¹ After 973, Boia is no longer found at Derby, but during the short period of Edward the Martyr (975–978: type 2), a Boia struck coins in Chester, Stamford, Canterbury and Wilton, and the fact that Wilton is die-linked with Hertford suggests that, like Osferth, a single individual might have minted at two widely separated mints.⁶² Boia's name is also found at Lincoln between 1003 and 1009, and even later at Canterbury, Taunton and especially Dover, until 1050, after which it is found no more. The pattern is similar to that discerned in the appearances of the name Osferth, and suggests that Boia did not move from place to place, striking coins with his own dies but presided as master over a kind of *bottega* (group), whose members struck coins at various places. It seems, once again, that a moneyer was not necessarily present in a borough where coins were being struck in his name, and (given the lengthy period of activity) that the name 'Boia', like a modern brand-name ('Omega', for instance, or 'Rolex'), might be passed by a master to his son or to his best pupil.

As for the name Man, the geographical and temporal scope of its appearances is wider than that of Boia (Table 3), but, so far as the tenth- and eleventh-century instances are concerned, probably represents the same kind of 'brand name' shared by a group of men. It is possible that the two groups operated simultaneously in Kent, for a Man appears in Canterbury in 1042–1046, at about the same time that Boia is first found at Dover. Man's 'firm', however, continued to strike coins during

⁵⁷ I. G. Peirce, *Swords of the Viking Age*, Woodbridge 2002, 8. I owe this reference to Dr Ann Williams.

⁵⁸ PASE.

⁵⁹ See *infra*, pp. 42–3.

⁶⁰ The limited space often resulted in the abbreviation of the moneyer's name, which increases the difficulty of identification. All identifications here are from PASE.

⁶¹ The name appears both as Boia and Boga. There were lead mines in Matlock, Wirksworth, Bakewell, Ashford, and Crich and Shuckstonfield, all in Derbyshire, in Domesday Book (GDB, 272, 272v, 277: *DB Derby*, 1, 12, 13, 27, 28; 10, 11). The lead-mines also produced silver. There might be some relation between Boia's coinage and silver mining in Derbyshire.

⁶² Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 75.

the reigns of King Edward the Confessor, Harold II and William I, thus surviving the Norman Conquest, and is last found at Canterbury in 1074/1077.

Table 2 Appearances of the name Boia

Date	Type	Place	Date	Type	Place
880–899		West Midlands, ?	991–997	7	Chester, Hertford, Southwark, Thetford
899–924		?	997–1003	8	Hertford
927–939		Chester, Derby	1003–1009	9	Lincoln
939–946		?	1029–1036	13	Dover
946–955		Derby, Norwich, ?	1035–1042	16	Dover
955–959		Derby?, Bedford, Southampton	1036–1037	14	Canterbury, Dover
959–972		Derby, Norwich, Chester	1038–1040	15	Dover
c. 973		Canterbury	1036–1042	17	Dover
975–978	2	Chester, Canterbury, Stamford, Wilton	1040–1042	18	Dover, Taunton
975–979	4	Wilton?	1042–c. 1044	19	Dover
979–985	4	Stamford, Canterbury	c. 1044–c. 1046	20	Dover
985–991	5	Canterbury, Stamford	1048–1050	22	Taunton

Table 3 Appearances of the name Man

Date	Type	Place	Date	Type	Place
823–825		Ipswich?	1017–1023	11	Thetford
825–845		Ipswich?	1017–1029	11, 12	Exeter, Lincoln, Wallingford
839–858		Canterbury	1017–1036	11, 12, 13	?
866–871		Canterbury	1036–1037	14	London
899–924		?	1036–1040	14, 15	Norwich
921–926		Five Boroughs?	1040–1042	18	Norwich, ?
927–939		London, Norwich, Tamworth, ?	1042–1046	19, 20	Canterbury, Norwich
939–946		Norwich, ?	1044–1046	20	York
946–955		Norwich, ?	1046–1048	21	Canterbury
955–959		Norwich, ?	1048–1059	22, 23	Lincoln
959–972		Chester, Hertford, Tamworth, Derby, ?	1048–1066	22–27, 29	Canterbury
973–975	1	Leicester, Stamford, York	1066–1066	30	Canterbury, Norwich
975–979	2	Worcester	1066–1068	32–	Canterbury, Norwich
978–979	3	York	1068–1070	33	Canterbury
979–985	4, 8	?	1070–1072	34	Canterbury, Nottingham
997–1003					
979–997	4	Totnes	1072–1074	35	Canterbury
997–1003	8	Northampton, Wallingford, Exeter	1074–1077	36	Canterbury, Nottingham
1003–1017	9, 10	Thetford, Lincoln, Hertford, Norwich	1083–1086	38	Nottingham

The case of Brunman is rather different. Moneyers of this (comparatively uncommon) name were associated with ten minting-places during the reigns of Æthelred *unræd*, Cnut, Harold I, Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor.⁶³ The distribution suggests another 'brand-name', but it may be possible to identify the Canterbury moneyer who struck coins between 1048 and 1050 (and perhaps from as early as 1042) with the Brunmann who was a reeve in Canterbury just before and after the Norman Conquest.⁶⁴ Since Britain lacked productive silver mines like those of Germany, the moneyers' need for silver was largely supplied by the influx of foreign coin, sometimes directly; the money-changers with whom foreign merchants had to exchange their silver on arrival were often the same people as the moneyers.⁶⁵ The tax on such transactions was very valuable, which explains the frequent disputes over rights of port and toll among the royal officials and others, including prelates, who had the prerogative of mintage. Such a dispute arose early in William I's reign between Brunmann the reeve (*prepositus*) on the one hand and Archbishop Lanfranc and the abbot of St Augustine's on the other.⁶⁶ In the time of Edward the Confessor, Brunmann had collected market dues and tolls from the foreign merchants (*extraneis mercatoribus*) in Canterbury, which shows that he was the portreeve, whose duty it was to oversee both town and market, and in whose presence the buying and selling of goods over a specified value had to take place.⁶⁷ After the Conquest, he was accused of malfeasance, and

acknowledged before Archbishop Lanfranc and the Bishop of Bayeux that he had taken market dues belonging to the lands of Holy Trinity and St Augustine's unjustly, and he took his oath that these churches had their market dues quit in the time of King Edward. And thenceforth both churches had their customary dues on their land by the judgement of the king's barons, his fellows, who tried the case.

It is not, of course, certain that Brunmann the reeve was the same person as Brunman the moneyer, but the name is not common, and since both were connected with Canterbury it is a distinct possibility. It would have been convenient for a port-reeve, who was responsible for collecting dues and geld, to be a moneyer, or vice versa; indeed Philip Grierson suggested that the geld may have been farmed collectively by the local moneyers.⁶⁸ Nor would it be unusual for the portreeve also to be the king's moneyer, for moneyers might well be drawn from the local elite, the king's barons (previously the king's thegns) who heard the case against Brunmann. A comparable group is the body of lawmen found in Lincoln, one of whom

⁶³ All the references to Brunman in PASE relate to moneyers; the name Brunmann is found in relation to a portreeve, possibly of Fordwich, c. 991 (S 1654) and to an unknown number of men called Brunman in Domesday Book.

⁶⁴ The Brunman who struck coins at Canterbury from 1048 to 1050 may be identical with the Brunman associated with an unidentified mint in the 1040s.

⁶⁵ On Saxon silver, discovered after 961, see Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, 74–81.

⁶⁶ GDB, 2: *DB Kent*, C8.

⁶⁷ Among the predecessors of Brunmann were Hlothwig *portgerefa* in 968 (S 1215), Æthelred *portgerefa* around 1000 (S 1456) and Godric *portgerefa* in the 1040s (S 1473). Æthelred is perhaps the *fidelis homo* to whom King Æthelred II leased land in Canterbury in 1002 (S 903). The king's thegn Ælfweard, captured by the Danes in the sack of 1011, may also have been a portreeve. Another Brunmann portreeve, who gave property in Fordwich to St Augustine's in 991, was probably portreeve of Fordwich itself (S 1643). I am grateful to Dr Ann Williams for these references.

⁶⁸ P. Grierson, 'The Monetary System under William I', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R. H. W. Erskine, London 1987, 75–9.

was also a moneyer.⁶⁹ In a later exchange of urban property in Canterbury between the merchant guild and the monks of Christ Church, a Brunman appears among the members of the *cnihtangild*.⁷⁰ There is, however, little beyond the (uncommon) name to connect this Brunman with either Brunmann the portreeve or Brunman the moneyer, and the date of the transaction, at some time between 1093 and 1109, makes it unlikely that we are dealing with the same person.

As has become clear, the minting of coins in this period was largely the preserve of the wealthier and more prosperous men in the local community, variously described as thegns, king's thegns, *boni homines* ('good men'), *meliores* ('better men') and the like. This is not to say that moneyers, any more than thegns, were a closed caste, and just as ordinary free men might, by gaining the right qualifications, become thegns, so humble metal-workers like Æthelred and his son Sired might become moneyers.⁷¹ In the early Middle Ages, professions were not so specialized that a thegn could not be a royal official, a local landholder, and a merchant or moneyer at one and the same time. The Rochester moneyer Lifwine (Leofwine) Horne, who struck coins from type 26 (1059–1062) to type 39 (1083–1087), was (to judge from his by-name) a kinsman of Alwine Horne, a king's thegn, who appears in Domesday Book as one of the specially privileged landholders in West Kent.⁷² No lands in Kent are recorded in Alwine's name, but he did hold three tenements in Hertfordshire, assessed at 15¼ hides, and valued at £17 1s.⁷³ By 1086 all three had passed to Deorman, a wealthy London moneyer,⁷⁴ who held of the king, perhaps in consequence of his position as a royal official in charge of the London mint.⁷⁵ Deorman also owed the service of half a knight to the archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁶ It is possible that Leofwine Horne was a son (or at least a close kinsman) of Alwine Horne, and perhaps, given the descent of Alwine's lands in Hertfordshire, a kinsman of the London moneyer Deorman.⁷⁷

Moneyers and thegns also rub shoulders as witnesses to charters. A lease of Archbishop Æthelnoth (1020–1038) to his *ministri* Ælfwold and Eadred is attested by thirteen laymen, each of whom is designated *miles* ('knight').⁷⁸ Not all of them can be identified but the first two, Siward and Godric, reappear among the 'better men' of Kent who attest charters and diplomas of the late tenth and early eleventh

⁶⁹ J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge 1948, 40; R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 141, 1993, 3–37 at 11.

⁷⁰ Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 385.

⁷¹ The qualifications required for a free man to become a thegn are laid out in *Gepyncðo* (the 'promotion law'): see *EHD*, I, no. 52a. Especially relevant in the present context is the statement that 'if a merchant thrived so that he travelled three times over the sea in his own ship, he was henceforward entitled to the rights of a thegn'. For Æthelred and Sired, see above.

⁷² GDB, 1v: *DB Kent*, D25.

⁷³ GDB, 142: *DB Herts*, 42, 1–2, 5. The lands lay in Wattone in Stone (5 hides, £7) Walkern (10 hides, £15) and Sacombe (1 virgate, 12d). It is in these entries that Alwine Horne is specifically designated a king's thegn.

⁷⁴ Nightingale, 'Some London Moneyers', 34–50.

⁷⁵ Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting', 86–7.

⁷⁶ *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas, Royal Historical Society, London 1944, 105.

⁷⁷ A. Williams, 'Lost Worlds: Kentish Society in the Eleventh Century', *Medieval Prosopography* 20, 1999, 51–74 at 57.

⁷⁸ The lease concerns 50 acres of land belonging to the minster of St Mary, Reculver, to be held at the will of *Guichardus*, deacon of St Mary's. I am grateful to Professor Nicholas Brooks for his paper at the Battle Conference in 2011 and the transcript of S 1390 in his handout.

centuries.⁷⁹ Siward was a benefactor of Christ Church, Canterbury, and is called Siward of Chilham in a royal diploma of 1032, which, though an undoubted forgery, is based on genuine materials.⁸⁰ He was probably the father of Sired of Chilham, who on the eve of the Conquest held land in Kent worth £66, as well as urban property in Canterbury over which he had sake and soke (that is, immunity).⁸¹ Sired was also one of the leading men of East Kent, from whom the king had only their personal dues (*forisfactura de capitibus*).⁸² Another was Godric of Brabourne, who can plausibly be identified as Godric *miles*, the second lay witness on Archbishop Æthelnoth's charter.⁸³ The third witness, Wulfwig *miles*, does not appear in any contemporary witness lists, but a moneyer of that name was active during the period when Æthelnoth's charter was issued, striking type 12 (1023–1029), type 13 (1029–1035), type 14 (1036–1037) and type 15 (1038–1040).⁸⁴ If, as seems likely, Wulfwig the moneyer is also the witness Wulfwig *miles*, his case suggests that some moneyers belonged to the thegnly class, even that they might (like Deorman later) owe military service.⁸⁵

Men like Alwine Horne, Godric of Brabourne and Sired of Chilham were among the 'better and older men' of the shire, high-ranking and often wealthy thegns. Sired of Chilham was also a member of the urban elite of Canterbury, as were two other 'leading men' of East Kent, Æthelnoth *cild* and Esbearn *bigga*, both of whom, like Sired, had sake and soke over their property in the city.⁸⁶ That elite included not only local landholders but also royal officers, moneyers and merchants, like Vital, one of the *milites* (knights) depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, who with his son Haimo, lived at Canterbury and held land in Kent without losing their characteristics as merchants and mariners.⁸⁷ A later generation of such citizens appears in the Sandwich pleas of 1127, whose jurors included twelve king's men of Dover (*de Douorre homines regis*), one of whom was Odo the moneyer of Dover.⁸⁸ Odo's name does not appear on any extant coins from Dover, but he might have struck coins of type 59 (1125–1135), none of which have yet been found from the Dover mint.⁸⁹

⁷⁹ The others are Wulfsig the knight, Radwine *miles*, Ordnoth *miles*, Ælfric hog *miles* (= Ælfric in S 1044 dated 1042 x 1044), Oswald *miles* (= Osward of Harrietsham in S 1473 dated 1044 x 1048 and S 1467 dated 1038 x 1040), Ælfhelm *miles*, Leofsona (= Leofsunu Eadgifu's son in S 1461, dated 1016 x 1020 and S 1220 dated 1013 x 1018), Ælfric *quaterman miles*, Sibriht *miles*, and Ælfwine *miles* (= Ælfwine *se reada* in S 1400 dated 1038–50, S 1471 dated c. 1045, and S 1044 dated 1042 x 1044). I owe these identifications to Dr Ann Williams.

⁸⁰ S 981, alleged date 1032. Siward also attests S 1002, dated 1044 (also spurious) and S 1090, dated 1053 x 1061, which is genuine. His grant of Mersham to Christ Church was confirmed by the Confessor (S 1090). See further A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday*, London 2008, 48–9, 52, 54.

⁸¹ His main manors were Chilham (£60), Eastling (£2) and Luddenham (£1), held from King Edward (GDB, 10, 10v: *DB Kent*, 5, 144, 159, 160). Sired also held Wickhambreux (£3) from Alfred Bigga (GDB, 9v: *DB Kent*, 5, 124). For his Canterbury holdings, see GDB, 2: *DB Kent*, C6.

⁸² GDB, 1: *DB Kent*, D17.

⁸³ On Godric, see Williams, *World Before Domesday*, 39, 48–9.

⁸⁴ An earlier – or perhaps the same – Wulfwig struck type 5 (985–999), type 7 (991–997) and type 8 (997–1003) in the reign of Æthelred II.

⁸⁵ H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, London 1962, 125.

⁸⁶ GDB, 2: *DB Kent*, C6.

⁸⁷ H. Tsurushima, 'Hic Est Miles: Some Images of Three Knights, Tuold, Wadard and Vital', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. M. J. Lewis, G. R. Owen-Crocker and D. Terkla, Oxford 2011, 81–91 at 87–90.

⁸⁸ D. M. Stenton, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter 1066–1215*, Philadelphia 1964, 120–1. Odo and Baldwin son of Fike were the only jurors with continental names.

⁸⁹ Only three moneyers of Dover are recorded on coins from the reign of Henry I: Manwine, who was the dominant figure, Godwine and Safuhem.

Another 'moneyless' moneyer, Geldwine, made an agreement with Bishop Ernulf of Rochester (1115–1124), by which he granted his house, with 3 acres at Borstal and 6 acres at Delce, to St Andrews and the monks, in order that he might be made a monk there.⁹⁰ Since his house lay adjacent to the monks' cemetery, Geldwine probably lived near the priory precinct in the south-east of the city, but no coin struck in his name has yet been found.

Geldwine the moneyer also witnessed a donation given to St Andrews, Rochester, by Goldwine *grec*, in the company of yet another moneyer called Robert.⁹¹ Robert, however, is attested in the surviving coinage, striking at Rochester from type 53 (1111–1113).⁹² He is the first Kentish moneyer since John at Lympne to bear a continental name; all the moneyers of William I and William II had English names, and many of them were men who survived the Conquest and continued to strike coins for the Norman dynasty. English names were indeed still in the majority in the reign of Henry I; the only continental names in Kent are those of Robert at Rochester, Warin, Gregory and (another) Robert at Canterbury and Osbern at Sandwich. Of course a continental name does not necessarily indicate a continental immigrant, for many Englishmen adopted names in the new continental style after the Norman Conquest.⁹³

Robert the moneyer of Canterbury, whose first coins are those of type 59 (1125–1135), was probably the father of John, son of Robert the moneyer, recorded in the roll of Wibert, prior of Christ Church (1153–1167).⁹⁴ He in turn can be identified as John son of Robert son of Osmund, whose land facing the city wall in Burgate parish was recorded in a survey of the cathedral's holdings in 1163–1167.⁹⁵ Like his father Robert, John was a moneyer, who in 1177/78 owed 400 marks (£260) from a general amercement of Canterbury moneyers.⁹⁶ It took John fitzRobert four years to pay off this debt.⁹⁷ He must have been a very rich man, especially when we consider that the net annual value of the archiepiscopal land in 1172 and in 1184 was £1,375 and £1,019 respectively, and William Urry suggested that he might be the father of the alderman Thomas.⁹⁸ Whether John's grandfather Osmund was also a moneyer is

⁹⁰ Rochester, Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A. 3.5, Textus Roffensis, f. 193r. Cf. H. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *ANS* 14, 1991, 313–37. For the lands near the monks' cemetery, see M. P. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 78, 1988, 58–9.

⁹¹ Textus Roffensis, f. 192r. Cf. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', 334–5.

⁹² Robert also appears in an agreement between the reeve of Frindsbury and the citizens of Rochester with Ordwine, prior of Rochester (Textus Roffensis, f. 193).

⁹³ For the change from English to Continental naming patterns, see Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory 1100', 329–33.

⁹⁴ Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 224.

⁹⁵ Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 231.

⁹⁶ *PR 23 Henry II*, 203. The section in the Pipe Roll is headed 'Concerning the amercement of the moneyers in Canterbury (*De misericordia monetariorum Cantuarie*)'. The reason for the massive fines is unknown, but it could be part of 'the crown attack on mints and moneyers', intended to centralize and control them. See Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting', 91. We should remember the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170.

⁹⁷ *PR 24 Henry II*, 123; *PR 25 Henry II*, 118; *PR 26 Henry II*, 145.

⁹⁸ *PR 18 Henry II*, 139; *PR 30 Henry II*, 151; F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, London 1966, 243; Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 116.

unknown, but John himself provides evidence of the wealth that might be accrued by a family involved in the production of coin.

The profits that could be made from moneying were considerable. Foreign merchants and other customers brought their silver, either as bullion or in coins, to the money-changers (often the moneyers themselves) to be re-cast as English pennies, the only legal tender within the realm.⁹⁹ The moneyers would then assay the proffered silver, or make an allowance for debasement. Metcalf assumes that 'the moneyer retained a fee of perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence in the pound (the equivalent of 5% or 7.5% commission) to cover his working expenses and the king's profit'.¹⁰⁰ If he then struck ten thousand pennies from one pair of dies,¹⁰¹ he would make (by simple arithmetic) a profit of either 500*d.* (£2 1*s.* 8*d.*) or 750*d.* (£3 2*s.* 6*d.*). He had, of course to pay for the new dies issued at the regular renewals of the coinage. Domesday Book records that when the coinage was changed, the moneyer paid 18*s.* for his pair of dies of the new design.¹⁰² (It was perhaps when he received the reverse die, which bore his name, that he was officially recognized as a moneyer). Having received the dies, he then had a period of grace in which to pay 20*s.* for the farm, two thirds of which went to the king and one third to the earl, by custom (the earl's share is the third penny).¹⁰³ If this account is correct, the moneyer would make a net gain of either 13*s.* 8*d.* or £1 5*s.* 6*d.* on one pair of dies. This figure seems too low to account for the known wealth of the moneyers, but much of the procedure is still obscure. How many pairs of dies did they obtain at one time? The reverse die, which received the full force of the strike, wore out more quickly than the obverse; is it possible that earlier moneyers obtained two reverse dies to one obverse, as their fourteenth-century successors did?¹⁰⁴ Did the 'companies' of moneyers share the obverse die throughout their network? These are just some of the imponderables.

Domesday Book seems to be describing the customs as they existed before 1066, but though William I continued the minting arrangements which had existed since *c.* 973, a new tax, the *monetagium*, had been introduced into at least some towns by 1086. Whereas the moneyers had formerly been charged personally with the farm in respect of their office, William now laid the tax of the mint (*geldum monete*) on the town as a whole. The town as an institution was now responsible for the tax, even though, as Metcalf suggests, the *monetagium* was actually still collected by the moneyers themselves.¹⁰⁵ The introduction of the *monetagium* reflects the growth of urban institutions during England's long eleventh century. The moneyers and their activities, formerly individualist and unstructured, were now anchored in the admin-

⁹⁹ Also the moneyers had to coin pennies for the king from his silver TRE (GDB, 179: *DB Hereford*, C9).

¹⁰⁰ Metcalf, 'The Taxation of Moneyers under Edward the Confessor and in 1086', 287.

¹⁰¹ Metcalf, 'The Taxation of Moneyers under Edward the Confessor and in 1086', 285, 289.

¹⁰² GDB, 179: *DB Hereford*, C9. The account appears in the description of Hereford and relates to the pre-Conquest period.

¹⁰³ GDB, 26: *DB Sussex*, 12,1 (Lewes, TRW); GDB, 179: *DB Hereford*, C9 (Hereford, TRE). In the account of the Dorset borough of Bridport, TRE the moneyer paid one silver mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) and 20*s.* when the coinage was changed (GDB, 75: *DB Dorset*, B2); allowance had already been made for the earl's third penny. At Worcester, the moneyer paid 20*s.* at London TRE, possibly for dies of the new design (GDB, 172: *DB Worcs*, C1).

¹⁰⁴ Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting', 129.

¹⁰⁵ '...postquam rex Willelmus geldum monete posuit in burgo [Huntingdon]' (GDB, 203: *DB Hunts*, B15). See Metcalf, 'The Taxation of Moneyers under Edward the Confessor and in 1086', 282; and Grierson, 'The Monetary System Under William I'.

istration of the towns and cities; from being independent craftsmen co-operating with their neighbours, they became citizens responsible to and for an abstract idea of the city. They were still operating both as moneyers and money-changers until the drastic reforms of Henry II in 1180, and, although from Henry I's time they could only act as money-changers within their own county, it is clear that many moneyers were still accredited to two or more mints, sometimes at some distance from each other.¹⁰⁶ But times were changing. The world of the moneyer in the long eleventh century was that of the local 'good men' (*boni homines*), but successive kings gradually strengthened control over them and over the coinage until Henry II drove a wedge between money-changing and minting and stamped his own control over the processes of both. As with the Inquest of Sheriffs, the execution of Solomon the moneyer of Canterbury marked the end of the old days of moneyers drawn from the local gentry.¹⁰⁷ This might also have heralded the transition from the inquest to the parliamentary system, as well as the appearance of a silver-based currency in the real sense of the term, but these developments are far beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁰⁶ Robertson, *Decree Concerning the Coinage*, c. 3, 4; Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, c. 600–1158', 73.

¹⁰⁷ Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, 117.

Table A1 Coin Types 973–1066

Type	King	Years	Type	King	Years
1 (Reform Portrait)	Edgar	973–975	31	William I	1066–1068
2 (Small Cross)	Edward	975–978	32		1068–1070
3 (First Small Cross)	Æthelred	978?	33		1070–1072
4 (First Hand)		979–985	34		1072–1074
5 (Second Hand)		985–991	35		1074–1077
6 (Benedict Hand)		991–991	36		1077–1080
7 (Crux)		991–997	37		1080–1083
8 (Long Cross)		997–1003	38		1083–1087
9 (Helmet)		1003–1009	39		1087–1089
10 (Last Small Cross)		1009–1017	40	William II	1089–1092
11 (Quatrefoil)	Cnut	1017–1023	41		1092–1095
12 (Pointed Helmet)		1023–1029	42		1095–1098
13 (Short Cross)		1029–1036	43		1098–1100
14 (Jewel Cross: double band to diadem)	Harold I	1036–1037	44		1100–1102
15 (Fleur-de-lis, fleur reverse)		1040–1042	45	Henry I	1102–1103
16 (Cnut Arm and Sceptre [var: no sceptre])	Harthacnut	1035–1042	46		1103–1105
17 (Jewel Cross [var: bust right])		1036–1042	47		1105–1106
18 (Arm and Sceptre)		1040–1042	48		1106–1107
19 (PACX)	Edward	1042–1044	49		1107–1109
20 (Radiate/Small Cross)		1044–1046	50		1108–1111
21 (Trefoil Quadrilateral)		1046–1048	51		1111–1113
22 (Small Flan)		1048–1050	52		1117–1119
23 (Expanding Cross)		1050–1053	53		1119–1121
24 (Pointed Helmet)		1053–1056	54		1121–1123
25 (Sovereign/Eagles)		1056–1059	55		1123–1125
26 (Hammer Cross)		1059–1062	56		1125–1135
27 (Bust Facing / Small Cross)		1062–1065	57		From 1107
28 (BMC xiv)		1065–1066	58		
29 (Transitional Pyramids)		1066–1066	59		
30	Harold II		60		

MASTER WACE: A CROSS-CHANNEL PROSOPOGRAPHER FOR THE TWELFTH CENTURY?

Valentine Fallan with Judith Everard

The proposed title for this study, with due deference to Ann Williams, was ‘The English and the Norman Conquest – according to Wace’,¹ but that implied yet another skirmish in the Hastings ancestry stakes or, perhaps, a Domesday database-style dot map of his inventive gazetteer of King Harold’s towns and counties.² However, the cultural re-orientation is intentional and, in the spirit of independent vernacular scholarship so well-represented by Wace (*Magister* was, surely, the equivalent of Doctor today), there is also a shift in time. His *Roman de Rou* is re-assessed as the source of an English prosopography for the twenty-year period between the accession of Stephen of Blois in 1135 and the first years of the reign of Henry II.

The purpose is to identify those of the so-called ‘Conqueror’s Companions’ exclusive to Wace who occupy a no-man’s land in surname history (albeit a vigorous virtual life).³ His work had been read as a tenurial mapping exercise but he was discredited – solely on the basis of the ‘1066’ section translated in 1837 – because so few of the personal or (presumed) locative names were found in the orthodox literature.⁴ Wace was the first to use the Anglo-Norman term *surnons* in what would now be considered a prosopographical context (lines 8659–60) and almost all of them correspond with twelfth-century hereditary English family names. This is more than a co-incidence of adopted feudal identifications: his neighbourhood contemporaries, either from choice or service obligation, were becoming ‘Domesday Descendants’.⁵

As individuals in his *geste* they personify the contentious politics of the era. Holdings in England were confiscated and granted (or promised) according to the changing allegiances of the magnates, whose dominant motive was the preservation of their cross-Channel estates and, for many, their patrimonies.⁶ It is inconceivable

¹ A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995. Affectionate thanks to Ann for her indispensable mentoring since my reading, as a Domesday innocent, of her ground-breaking book, her interest in my work on Wace, discussions on an eclectic range of subjects, not the least prosopography, and her encouragement to think independently.

² *Wace: the Roman de Rou*, trans. G. S. Burgess, Société Jersiaise, St Helier 2002, with facing text of *Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, ed. A. J. Holden, 3 vols, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris 1970–1973, lines 7711–32. All verse citations in the text are from Part III unless otherwise stated, henceforth ‘Burgess, Rou’.

³ J. R. Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, London 1874, was derived from Wace, who is cited frequently on family history websites.

⁴ E. Taylor, *Master Wace: his Chronicle of the Norman Conquest from the Roman de Rou*, London 1837, included a sketch map of the Norman fiefs he identified, at xiv–xv. For mistaken interpretations of ‘toponyms’, see below, p. 63.

⁵ ‘*Ne de toz dire les surnons* (I do not know all the full names/surnames)’. The reference for twelfth-century English surnames and their origins is the COEL database: see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166*. Vol. 2: *Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum*, Woodbridge 2002.

⁶ J. Le Patourel, ‘What Did Not Happen in Stephen’s Reign’, *History* 58, 1973, 1–17 at 13–15.

that Wace was unaware of this or unaffected by the series of anarchic raids and short-lived victories which also had such profound consequences in Normandy. His perspective is hardly remarkable, given the provincial status of the duchy since his childhood, and in his early career he had taken his subjects and narrative style from the pioneering chronicles and legends of the mainland, most memorably Wales.

Literary studies of the complete works, and a closer understanding of their author's development from adaptor to outspoken commentator, were enabled by the publication of the first facing-text prose translation of all extant manuscripts of *Roman de Rou*, in 2002 in Jersey, where Wace was born around 1100 (and, probably, conceived).⁷ This most scholarly of his works cannot be considered a primary source but he would have been taken more seriously if he had written in Latin prose: the Conquest chroniclers also allowed themselves 'poetic licence'. His vernacular (in the broadest meaning of the term) was the formal secular medium of his times.

Wace could have arrived in Caen by 1106, the end of independent ducal rule and, appropriately, the conclusion of his chronicle. His impassioned verses on the siege of the city by Henry I read like reportage (lines 11,407–12) and the *Rou* was described recently as 'a narrative of Norman defeat'.⁸ It is surely relevant that he settled and worked in the territory controlled by Robert 'of Caen' (which included the Bessin church and its estates under his also-illegitimate son, Richard, bishop of Bayeux); he was the dedicatee of Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury, and a patron of Geoffrey Gaimar. A possible model for Wace was the partisan last stand of Hereward and his Companions in *L'Estoire des Engleis*, the template vernacular chronicle. As earl of Gloucester, Robert occurs in Norman charters and records of assizes from c. 1122 and was based mainly in Normandy until the end of 1139 where 'the legal circus of debate around the rights and wrongs of Stephen's accession began in his household in the winter of 1137'.⁹

Wace could have been a party to these discussions. He was established as an author and *magister* and, very likely, a raconteur, at least ten years before he completed his enduringly influential *Roman de Brut* (in 1155, according to the late twelfth-century manuscript of Durham) and is thought to have been in his forties when he wrote an erudite theological polemic, apparently for a highly-placed English patron.¹⁰ His querying of the Conquest case history in the *Rou* followed Eadmer, among other English chroniclers, and was that of an astute and cynical elder citizen living with the aspirations of William's warring descendants.¹¹ As a *clerc* of Caen, Wace would have had official duties and his sense of justice and legal interests suggest professional knowledge. Haskins noted that comments in the *Rou* demonstrate his familiarity with obscure terminology and, for instance, a litany of lawsuits which reflect 'the growth of officialdom and litigation in his own time', detailed for events of 996:

⁷ For example, G. S. Burgess, *The History of the Norman People*, *Wace's Roman de Rou*, Woodbridge 2004; *Maistre Wace, a Celebration*, ed. G. S. Burgess and J. Weiss, St Helier 2006. Manuscripts, editions, translations and studies of all known works are detailed in *Wace: a Critical Bibliography*, ed. J. Blacker, St Helier 2008; *Wace, the Conception Nostre Dame and the Lives of St Margaret and St Nicholas*, ed. J. Blacker, G. S. Burgess, and A. Ogden, Leiden (forthcoming).

⁸ F. H. M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace*, Cambridge 2005, 159.

⁹ C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge MA 1918, 94–101; D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154*, London 2000, 75, 77.

¹⁰ Le Saux, *Companion*, 81; eadem, 'Wace as Hagiographer', in *Maistre Wace*, ed. Burgess and Weiss, 139–48 at 141.

¹¹ Burgess, *Rou*, 370 n.231 and references; Le Saux, *Companion*, 219–23.

just one example of his back-dating of current controversies.¹² Clearly, the vernacular allowed eminent authors considerable leeway. The *Rou* is his most personal work, with pointed diversions, outspoken criticisms and witty topical allusions, and it demonstrates a broad range of (un-canonical) knowledge.¹³

For Wace, the most recent Norman ducal invader to claim the crown was Henry of Anjou, who, after youthful cross-Channel forays, finally sailed with his army in January 1153. His manifesto prioritized the restoration of captured estates and his first challenge was to resolve the inheritance conundrum.¹⁴ The futility of a nostalgic celebratory work would not have been lost on Wace. A reasonable proposition is that he extended a roll call of 1066 as an ironic after-dinner history, with a toast to absent friends rallying to defend their lord's English territory or make terms with the new conqueror in the hope of regaining their patrimonies.

Holt considered that Wace set out 'to attribute special prestige to particular Anglo-Norman families ... through their participation in the Conquest'.¹⁵ The imminent centenary of William's invasion could have been the commissioned purpose of this section of the *Rou* by un-named penny-pinching patrons (lines 143–66).¹⁶ However, the anglicized descendants might have wished to bury the shameful past; only the Battle Abbey magnates claimed heritage privileges from Henry II and the date seems to have passed unnoticed by the English chroniclers: the year of the *Cartae Baronum* was the height of the Becket crisis.¹⁷

It is unlikely that Wace wrote a new prologue in his mid-seventies and, for this discussion, the assumed period of composition of his Conquest epic is 1153, soon after handing his *Brut* to the scribes. He revised the history of the early dukes following his attendance at Fécamp in 1162 for their ceremonial re-burial in the presence of King Henry II, although the king is not mentioned here by Wace (lines 2241–6).¹⁸ Where he is named, it is without his title of Duke of Normandy and two instances read like scribal interpolations (lines 172 and 5317). We can give Wace the last word: if the king 'had given me everything he promised, things would have gone better for me' (lines 11,428–9). This is taken to refer to his replacement as ducal historian by Benoit, named earlier in the verse, but, as with so many of his remarks, it is open to interpretation.

The rueful Wace could not have anticipated his double-edged destiny as prosopography's ghost writer and latter-day ancestral overlord. He was democratic and open-minded, unlike his Victorian detractors (too notorious to be named). Their obsession with Norman 'toponyms' was prejudicial and misleading and academic research was ruled out for a century. Contrary to their grandiose interpretations, embraced by popular genealogy, many place-names were listed simply as villas or fiefs; nor was it observed that Wace distinguished between the anonymous 'men

¹² For 'clerc of Caen', Burgess, *Rou*, 'Chronique Ascendante', line 3; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 41, 166, 182, 268–71, 279 n.16. See also J. Tardif, 'Etude sur les sources de l'ancien droit normand', in *Congrès du Millénaire Normand*, Rouen 1912, 570–619 *passim*.

¹³ M. Bennett, 'Poetry as History? The *Roman de Rou* of Wace', *ANS* 5, 1983, 31–40; idem, 'Wace and Warfare', *ANS* 11, 1989, 37–57; V. Fallan, 'Commentary: King Harold's Chanson', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 21 May 2004, 12–13 at 13.

¹⁴ Crouch, *Stephen*, 125–6, 274–7.

¹⁵ J. C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England 1: the Revolution of 1066', *TRHS*, 5th series 32, 1982, 193–212 at 206.

¹⁶ Fallan, 'Commentary', 13.

¹⁷ Le Saux, *Companion*, 251; *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle, Oxford 1980, 178.

¹⁸ Burgess, *Rou*, xxii and n.26; Le Saux, *Companion*, 154. For Arthurian overtones in the *Roman de Rou*, see Le Saux, *Companion*, 184–9 and 233. For the ceremony, *Jumièges*, II, 263 n.4.

from' or *jovente* (youths) and the named knights, lords, *vicomtes* or courtiers and that he noted, for instance, bynames and patronymics.¹⁹ The work of their predecessors was ignored, notably the useful findings on the twelfth century by Auguste Le Prévost (Orderic's first editor and co-founder of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie) printed in the part-translation by Taylor.²⁰ This was overlooked also by Lewis C. Loyd; he (or his editors) cited the *Rou* once as a sole source, albeit as 'generally ... historically worthless'.²¹ It took another thirty years for Wace to be accepted (with reservations) into the highest echelons of academia as a 'first witness' and 'sadly neglected source' in English family nomenclature, and he was restored to historical study by Matthew Bennett in a series of conference publications from 1982.²² Finally, the debate was positively rounded off at the Oxford Prosopography Conference of 1995 by Elisabeth van Houts, who detailed his likely evidence, both oral and documentary. The 'Companions' unidentified for 1066–1068 and twelfth-century Normandy are among the principal subjects of this follow-up.²³

New research for this study which finds their counterparts in England supports the hypothesis that the complex agenda of the civil war governed the choice of participants for heroic scenes in the *Rou*. They occur with their full names in a single collection of comital charters, some as testators to agreements at turning points of the conflict. Among the other literary clues are echoes in the anecdotal exploits of '1066' brothers-in-arms in the *Rou* of the description of a critical civil war battle by Henry of Huntingdon.²⁴ Even the necessarily sketchy prosopography below finds connections between them and other 'unknowns'. Their family origins or fiefs were in areas associated with Wace. He is the sole reference for certain personal names and the earliest source for one particular Bessin place name. Evidence for the identification of its twelfth-century *seigneur* in England is provided in the report of an excavation in the late twentieth century. Wace would have applauded the archaeologist's remark that 'a pattern of personal bonds is written into the terrain'.²⁵

Freeman recommended 'any student of Norman history to walk the ground, Wace in hand' and noted his accurate topography of historic battlefields.²⁶ As well as naming his birthplace, perhaps to preface his off-centre views, Wace gave its location (twice) and listed the other *îles normandes* (lines 2770–5; 5302–5).²⁷ For our purposes, his enterprise might be termed 'geo-prosopography', a personalized cross-Channel survey which includes the principal islands, usually by-passed in such studies. A proto-Michael Wood, he was a descriptive guide to his local environ-

¹⁹ 'Guillaume que l'en dit Crespin', line 8431; 'Turstin fils Rou le Blanc', line 8674; *baron, cil, un chevaliers, sire, li chamberlenc, dam, un vassal, visquens, botellier, seneschals*, between lines 8354 and 8526. *Cil* and *sire* are translated as 'lord'; *cil* also as 'man', as in 'li cil qui teneit (the man who held)', line 8539 or 'cil que et sire de (the man who was lord of)', line 8525.

²⁰ Taylor, *Wace*, 167–246.

²¹ L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. D. C. Douglas and C. T. Clay, Harleian Society 103, 1951, 15.

²² Holt, 'Feudal Society', 206; Bennett, 'Poetry as History', *idem*, 'Wace and Warfare'; and *idem*, 'The Uses and Abuses of Wace's *Roman de Rou*', in *Maistre Wace*, ed. Burgess and Weiss, 31–40.

²³ E. M. C. van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1997, 104–32. With grateful thanks to Elisabeth van Houts for her assistance and support of my research since the early Wace years, and her encouragement for my focus on the twelfth century.

²⁴ See below, p. 72.

²⁵ C. Lorren, 'Le château de Rubercy (Calvados): étude de la demeure principale c. 1150–1204', *Archéologie médiévale* 7, 1977, 109–78 at 132.

²⁶ E. A. Freeman, *Sketches of Travel in Normandy and Maine*, London 1897, 38.

²⁷ See also Burgess, *Rou*, *Appendix*, lines 423–5.

ment and its tenurial upheavals. Why not also to its people and their contemporary concerns, in particular the ramifications of Angevin rule since 1144?

If prosopography is about identities then that of Wace is a fundamental question. It is more than ironic that his own family is unknown. Only scant biographical details survive, in the preface to the Conquest section, very late in the text and in his career (lines 5302–5). The oldest extant manuscript, 'Part III', was copied from an unknown exemplar and possibly revised at Battle c. 1200, and annotated for the abbey's '1066' archive.²⁸ Wace describes himself here as a Norman, perhaps to balance his scepticism, especially since his previous epic was, to contemporary Arthurians, England's foundation legend. He spoke of his father without naming him (*jo oi dire a mon pere*) and resisted giving himself a conquering ancestor (line 6424). An emendation to line 3223 in the *Rou* has been taken to mean that a maternal ancestor was Turstin 'Goz', lord of Toutainville and Creully, *vicomte* of the Hiémois from 1035 to 1043, the chamberlain who, after the death of Duke Robert I, had brought relics from Jerusalem to the abbey of Cerisy.²⁹

A possible Jersey family member, Roger Wac, has been noted routinely in local and other studies but not followed up. In 1154 he held a fief of the abbey of Saint-Sauveur in St Jean des Chênes.³⁰ Charters cited below show that the individuals with this surname were his close relatives. They are found in Guernsey, the Bessin and the Cotentin and different regions of England and, in the process of this research, they emerged as central to this prosopography. As it happens, Wac (sometimes *Wach* or *Vac*) is one of the oldest non-toponymic hereditary surnames in Norman records. The earliest occurrence is *Goffredus Wac* in 1025, one of over a hundred testators of a charter of Duke Richard II, noted by Taylor, although he noted that Le Prévost thought this might have been two individuals.³¹ The 1066 forefather, also 'Geoffrey', can now be identified (although his participation, or otherwise, in the invasion is irrelevant here). Later family members also had this forename.

'Wace' (the spelling in Part III and the close of the Durham *Brut*) is considered his first or, rather, sole name. However, it is unique as such in the extant records and occurs as a surname (*Wacii*, *Wasce*, *Wace* and *Vasce*) in Normandy towards the end of the twelfth century.³² There is no documentary evidence to associate him or the

²⁸ London, British Library, MS Royal 4 C.xi. The annotations include: *Nota numerum classis ducis Wilhelmi usque Angliam* f. 265v, col. a; *Nota uno die consumatum esse bellum*, f. 271v, col. a; *Nota Sabbato consumatum esse bellum*, f. 271v, col. c. See Ronald N. Walpole, 'BM Royal MS 4 C.xi', in idem, *The Old French Johannes Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: a Critical Edition, Vol 2, Supplement*, Berkeley CA 1976, 147–162 at 152 n.130. The *Chronique Ascendante* Parts I and II survive only in a seventeenth-century manuscript of the *Roman de Rou*.

²⁹ 'Tosteins, ki ert ses chamberlencs / De sa chambre maistre gardeins / De par sa mere fu sis aives (Turstin, who was his chamberlain, chief guardian of his chamber, was his grandfather through his mother)', emended to 'de par ma mere (through my mother)' (Burgess, *Rou*, xix; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 269). For Turstin 'Goz', see *Gallia Christiana*, XI, Paris 1874, 408, and *Jumièges*, II, 101 n.6.

³⁰ *Cartulaire des îles normandes: recueil de documents concernant l'histoire de ces îles*, Société Jersiaise, St Helier 1924, no. 211. See, for example, van Houts, 'Wace', 105 n.10, and references; Burgess, *Rou*, xix n.21.

³¹ Taylor, *Master Wace*, 243–4 n.66, and see *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. M. Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 36, Caen 1961, no.35, n. y.

³² Richard *Wacii* and Richard *Wasce*: *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae baiocensis (livre noir)*, ed. V. Bourrienne, 2 vols, Rouen and Paris 1902, I, nos. lvi (1200) and lxxx (1182 x 1205); Richard *Wach* witnessed a charter of Humphrey de Bohun for the abbey of Marmoutier: *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round, London 1899 (CDF), no. 1219 (1172 x 1181); Canon R. *Vace* is named in the Cerisy cartulary: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 21659, p. 249 (undated, but the preceding text, at p. 248, is a confirmation

later Richard 'Wace', a canon of Bayeux, with Roger Wac of Jersey or his cross-Channel relatives but if Wace was (or thought he was) a family member this would present a cohesive picture of the many co-incidences of names and holdings. It is not entirely speculative to make another break with academic tradition and take Wace as the author's surname. This allows a possible ancestral connection between these individuals, to be discussed in the conclusion, with suggestions for the origin of his prebend, said to be a gift of King Henry II in the verses noted above. Given the lateness of the Battle manuscript this might be an understandable scribal error for Bishop Henry II. It is even possible that a further scribal error confused the author Wace with the later canon Richard.³³

The only documents in which Latin equivalents for Wace occur as a sole name are those customarily cited, usually from secondary references, as evidence of the author's position as a non-dignitary canon of Bayeux cathedral. They are three, possibly four, charters preserved as copies in late cartularies; two remain unpublished. Only one, as noted by van Houts, which names Wace with the title *magister*, appears to have a connection with the content of the *Rou*.³⁴ None have been printed in previous Wace studies nor, where necessary, dated prosopographically. The four charters are thus brought together for the first time in this paper (see below).³⁵

The cross-Channel conflict which followed the death of Henry I between supporters of his daughter, Matilda, and his nephew, King Stephen (also duke of Normandy until 1144), has been investigated and analysed in several important studies of the chronicles and charters.³⁶ This summary provides the context for the participation of individuals selected for special mention by Wace.

The final invasion of Normandy by the ducal arch-enemy, Geoffrey of Anjou, second husband of Matilda, was triggered by the unprecedented climax of the civil war: the battle of Lincoln in February 1141. Stephen was captured by the combined forces of Robert, earl of Gloucester, and his nephew, Ranulf II *de Guernons*, earl of Chester, whose alliances changed to suit his purposes of the moment; Ranulf's defeat of the king defined their continuing power struggle and he was able to make profitable (but insecure) terms with Stephen, although his gains in England were little compensation for his losses in Normandy.³⁷ Count Geoffrey's earlier attacks on Bayeux and Caen, in alliance with Robert, his brother-in-law, would have been witnessed by Wace. The 1106 betrayal of Caen to Henry I is his sole, if anticipatory, reference to Robert, earl of Gloucester (*Robert, li quens de Glocestre*) as custodian of the last independent ruler of Normandy, Duke Robert II (lines 11,407–12).

In 1142 Count Geoffrey was in control of the western region, including Earl Ranulf's castles at Briquessart and Vire and, it is assumed, his island holdings.³⁸

charter by King Henry II of 1165 x 1172, see *Acta of Henry II*, ed J. C. Holt and N. Vincent, Oxford forthcoming, no. 535 (2012H). See note 62 below.

³³ See note 32 (Richard 'Wace'). As forenames, e.g., *Wacio* brother of 'G. Burnel' (1173 x 1181), and *Waszone*, a monk of Bec (undated) (*CDF*, nos. 11 and 377). For the origins of surnames as patronymic bynames, see, for example, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names: the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography', in *Prosopography: Approaches and Applications*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Oxford 2007, 39–81.

³⁴ van Houts, 'Wace', 106–7 and references there. See below, p. 74.

³⁵ Thanks to Mark Hagger and Françoise Le Saux for their assistance in locating the cartulary extracts.

³⁶ *Regesta*, III; Crouch, *Stephen* and other studies noted below.

³⁷ *Regesta*, III, no. 178. See note 76 below. See Crouch, *Stephen*, 278. For dating, see *ibid.*, 143–4 and 225–8.

³⁸ Crouch, *Stephen*, 200 n.33.

Stephen had lost all hope of the recovery of Normandy by January 1144 when Count Geoffrey had won over his most loyal supporters and was subsequently recognized as duke. In c. 1150 Geoffrey and Matilda's son Henry, then aged sixteen, was given the title in preparation for his claim as Stephen's successor to the crown.³⁹

The selected 'Companions' of Wace were vassals of Earl Ranulf II in England. Twenty-five or more of their names also occur, at different periods, in charters of the Channel Islands: Ranulf's patrimony included the *vicomtés* of the Avranchin and Bessin and the western half of Guernsey (the *Fief du Bessin*, known as *Fief le Comte*).⁴⁰ Identifications will be given for personal and place-names exclusive to the *Rou*. Twelfth-century alternatives for those suggested in the recent studies are included where they occur together in the text or in charters and had holdings or patrimonies in the same small localities; associations with the Wac family across the generations are noted. The sources include the English charters of Earl Ranulf II.⁴¹ Earlier and later English and Norman documents establish family and feudal relationships. The routes and places in western Normandy well known to Wace also are informative. These include the lands of Grimoult de Plessis and the abbey of St Vigor at Cerisy in the forest of Molay, which he describes in detail and where he obtained source manuscripts for the *Rou*.⁴²

Apart from the prebend, Bayeux is mentioned only as a city destroyed by Henry I in his siege of the Bessin, although Wace adds, impersonally, that 'in the episcopal church ... there were many wealthy clergy' (lines 11,119–20). In the battle of Val-ès-Dunes of 1047 an unidentified knight, *Hardrez* (Hardret) who was 'born and raised in Bayeux' fought in the army of Haimo *dentatus* de Creully in the company of *vicomte* Ranulf and was killed brutally by Duke William (lines 4060–73); he could have been the father of Roger *filius Harderadi*, a vassal of a William of Colombières. They occur in 1058 x 1066 in the charters of a generously-endowed priory of Fécamp at Saint Gabriel in the Bessin, founded by three generations of a family of Creully, three of them named Turstin, the elder 'without doubt' Turstin Goz. A minor benefactor was *Joffredus Wac*.⁴³

One of the individuals named exclusively in an early verse in the *Rou* is Michael de Baynes (the unlocated *Baines*, line 4572). According to Wace he was a son of the disgraced Archbishop Maugier (Malger) who exiled himself to the Channel Islands and settled with a local woman named Gisla. Baynes, *canton* Balleroy, was a Bessin fief of the Bacon family close to the abbey of Cerisy, later associated with the fief of Blagny in the parish of Saint-Martin de Blagny.⁴⁴

A distinctive name found only in the twelfth century is *Boutevilain*, featured with *Trosebot* (a surname found in England and the Bessin), who '... feared neither

³⁹ R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen*, London 1967, 110 n.27.

⁴⁰ J. A. Everard and J. C. Holt, *Jersey 1204: the Forging of an Island Community*, London 2004, 44–5. For details of the Norman fiefs, see J.-M. Bouvrin, 'Les fiefs d'une famille vicomtale à l'époque ducal, les vicomtes du Bessin XIe–XIIe siècles', Mémoire de maîtrise, unpublished thesis, Caen 1973. An analysis of the Channel Island names in the *Rou* requires a separate study.

⁴¹ *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c. 1071–1327*, ed. G. Barraclough, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 126, 1988.

⁴² Burgess, *Rou*, 155 and 367 n.181; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 270–2; van Houts, 'Wace', 115.

⁴³ '*Joffredus Wac dedit partem suam quam habebat in ecclesia Sancti Gabrielis loco sancte Trinitatis*', 'Les plus anciennes chartes du prieuré de Saint-Gabriel: actes inédits du XIe siècle', ed. L. Musset, *Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, Bulletin 52, 1954, 117–41 at 127 and 134.

⁴⁴ *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londiniensi Asservati*, RC, 1837, 113b: '*... confirmasse Willelmo Bacon landas de Beynes habendas et tenendas sibi et heredibus suis...*' (1203). For Blagny, see C. Hippeau, *Dictionnaire topographique du département du Calvados*, Paris 1866, 260.

blow nor thrust / caused themselves to be greatly hated that day / receiving blows and dealing them' (lines 8581–8584). A *Boutevilain* occurs in St Jean des Chênes in Jersey, in 1154 the fief of Roger Wac.⁴⁵ Robert, son of William *Botevilain*, occurs as a tenant of Earl Ranulf in Wahull (Northamptonshire) in the Pipe Roll of 1129–30 and the Northamptonshire Survey; in 1166 Robert *Buteville* held in Wahull and of Earl Hugh Bigod. Pipewell Abbey claimed William *Butevillain* as its founder, and a dispute over his gift was resolved by a grant of Robert *Butevillain*. Around 1100 a Robert *Butevillain* attested a charter for the abbey of Troarn. There are several occurrences of the surname in the Norman Pipe Rolls of 1180 and 1198.⁴⁶ Under King Philip Augustus in 1220, Hugo and Alberedus *Boutevilain* held at *Esturville* in the Cotentin 'in the fief of the Earl of Chester'. Hugo occurs in a charter for Troarn of this date.⁴⁷ The late eighteenth-century *Carte de Cassini* shows Esturville, a hamlet on the edge of a small bay of the eastern Cotentin marshes close to Bouteville, on the old route to Valognes via Montebourg from *Le Grand Vey*. The description by Wace (line 3676) of the now-submerged ford served to alert the planners of the D-Day landings to the obstruction across the Vire estuary.⁴⁸

In the same Pipe Roll of 1220 is a reference to the unlocated Lithaire (*Le Sire de Lutehare*, lines 8421–2). A vill of this name in the Cotentin is on the coast opposite Jersey, part of the fief of the Orval family since 1131; in 1172 the honour of Lithaire was held by William of Orval.⁴⁹ Under Philip Augustus Lithaire included a 'fief of Baldwin Wac' in *Grenuvilla*. Another tenant in the 'fief of the earl of Chester' is an Osmundus Poisson.⁵⁰ He was possibly a descendant of Hubert Poisson, very likely also a Chester tenant, named in a settlement with the canons of Bayeux, dated by Bourrienne as 1135 x 1147. Among the testators is another Wac, *Goffredus*. This suggests he held of Bayeux, perhaps a sub-tenancy of one of the fiefs of the Ranulf *vicomtes* then held by Robert, earl of Gloucester. A more likely dating is 1135 x 1139. The most prominent witness with Bishop Richard (who died in 1142) was Earl Robert, his father, who was in England by September 1139 and made only a brief return to Normandy for a council of war with Geoffrey of Anjou at Caen in June 1142.⁵¹

Esturville is found in a confirmation by Henry II of gifts to the abbey of Montebourg, after October 1174, 'ex dono Ric(ardi) Wac concessu Gaufrid(i) fratris sui mansuram quam tenuit Will(elmus) Doree in Esturuill' cum orto adiacente'.⁵² The date of their donation could correspond with charters of, or witnessed by, William

⁴⁵ *Cartulaire des îles normandes*, no. 409, undated. For Trussebot, see Keats-Rohan, *Descendants*, 1, 130–1.

⁴⁶ *Radulfus Bote Vilain* is named in an account for the Bessin in 1180 (*Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reign of Henry II, 1180 and 1184*, ed. V. D. Moss, Pipe Roll Society 91, London 2004, 2). *Robertus Botevilain*, *Botevilain*, and *Willelmus Botevilain* are named in accounts of 1198 (*Norman Pipe Rolls, Richard I and John*, ed. V. D. Moss, Pipe Roll Society, London, forthcoming). I am grateful to David Roffé for advising me of occurrences in the COEL database.

⁴⁷ *Grands rôles des Echiquiers de Normandie*, ed. A. Lechaudé d'Anisy, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2nd series 5, 1846, 177, col. 1.

⁴⁸ R. Calder, 'Bernal at War', in *J. D. Bernal – A Life in Science and Politics*, ed. B. Swann and F. Aprahamian, London 1999, 179–80.

⁴⁹ *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols, London 1840–4 (henceforth, *MRSN*), I, lxxxvii, clviii, clx; M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy 1189–1204*, 2nd edn, Manchester 1960, 244.

⁵⁰ *Grands rôles*, ed. D'Anisy, 170, 177.

⁵¹ *Livre noir*, I, no. xlii; Crouch, *Stephen*, 107.

⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 10087, 8–12, no. 16; *Acta of Henry II*, ed. Holt and Vincent, no. 1845 (1849H).

de Morville from 1142 x 1155. A testator to an undated gift of a chapel in Dorset was *Eustacius Wac*. Both King Stephen and Geoffrey of Anjou confirmed gifts to Montebourg between 1139 and 1150.⁵³

For the above and several other reasons, *Le Sire de Reberchil* is the most significant of the unidentified 'Companions'. Wace is the earliest reference for Rubercy and no holding or fief of that name has been found before 1168. The twelfth-century *seigneur* was Hugh Wac, the most successful member of this family and our best representative of 'cross-Channel geo-prosopography'.⁵⁴ He is better known to English historians as the lord of a barony with its *caput* at Bourne in Lincolnshire. Roger Wac of Jersey was his brother or half-brother, probably the younger.⁵⁵ Hugh was cast by Wace in a climactic heroic scene in the battle epic, before a break in the narrative, with *cils de Combrai* (Combrai) and *d'Alnei* (Aulnay) and the *Sire del Molei* (Molay). The elder *seigneur* of this long-held estate (*del Viez Molei*) occurs earlier (lines 8645–9, 8524). These knights 'went about asking for King Harold, saying to the English "Look here! Where is the king whom you serve?"'. *Rubeam Maram*, translated by Barraclough as Rubercy, was mentioned in a grant c. 1196. The one-tenth of a fief was 100 acres in a then undeveloped coastal area, probably wetlands and mill streams, of the vicomtal hunting park of Trevières in the Bessin. A William Wac held in this park in 1203.⁵⁶

The usual spelling of Hugh's surname in English and Norman charters is 'Wac' but most English references give the later 'Wake' which is, no doubt, one reason why the identification with Rubercy was overlooked.⁵⁷ The progenitor of this long-established English surname is missing, surprisingly, from Loyd's 'address book', perhaps by request. According to the obituary in the memorial issue of the Northamptonshire journal founded by his descendant, Joan Wake, the respected historian and archivist, she 'had little pride in her genealogy'. Edmund King, author of a study of the barony of Bourne, detailed holdings and sub-tenancies in several counties. He gave the charter evidence for Hugh's career and increasing prosperity in England from around 1139 and translated his charmingly long-winded entry in the *Cartae Baronum*. Noting that Hugh was founder of the abbey of Notre-Dame de Longues in the Bessin in 1168, King added that an analysis of the family's Norman properties would be of value.⁵⁸

Prosopography is fortunate that the prompt action of the local mayor stopped the damaging excavations in the winter of 1969 for the construction of a deep defence (a *gabion*) near the valley village of Rubercy (*du vas*) 15 km west of Bayeux. The present rural village of Rubercy *de haut* stands with its church on a low hill on the route to Trevières and overlooks farmland clearly still subject to flooding from the surrounding network of streams. The illustrated report on the discovery

⁵³ CDF, nos. 879, 885, 888; *Regesta*, III, nos. 594, 595, 596.

⁵⁴ Hippeau, *Dictionnaire*, 245; Lorren, 'Le château de Rubercy', 131–4; Everard and Holt, *Jersey 1204*, 55.

⁵⁵ *Gallia Christiana*, XI, col. 429, an account of the foundation of the abbey of Longues: '*Rogierius Wac, Hugonis germanus*'.

⁵⁶ *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, 276 and no. 333.

⁵⁷ London, BL. MS Add. Ch. 47632. Pd: *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections*, ed. F. M. Stenton, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History 5, 1920, no. 333, 'c. 1150'.

⁵⁸ G. Isham, P. King and R. Eady, 'Joan Wake', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5, 1975, 157–60 at 157; E. King, 'The Origins of the Wake Family: the Early History of the Barony of Bourne in Lincolnshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5, 1975, 167–76 at 170, n.33. Thanks to Professor King for his helpful responses to my queries.

of the ruins of a late twelfth-century fortified residence with outbuildings, mounted on a motte at the confluence of two rivers and re-constructed 'before 1204', was published in 1977, so was unavailable to Professor King, although his study was part of the evidence cited to identify its *seigneurs*. The archaeologist concluded that the original house was built by Hugh Wac after his acquisition of Bourne and before his death by 1176, and the later *château* perhaps by his son and heir Baldwin Wac. A wealth of artefacts has survived, from tools to toys, and enough of the foundations and remains to construct a model.⁵⁹ Tithes of a mill and a field at Rubercy are among the gifts of Hugh for the abbey of Longues, 7 km north of Bayeux, founded for the souls of his father-in-law, Baldwin fitzGilbert, his wife, Emma, his children and all his friends, living or dead. Roger Wac was a witness and he survived Hugh, according to his charter at Bourne 'for the soul of my brother Hugh Wac', in which he gives to the abbey of Longues a fish pond and the church of Negreville in the Cotentin. Negreville was later one of the possessions of Hugh's heir, and noted by Stapleton as the family's *caput* in Normandy. However, Baldwin Wac held all the cross-Channel estates of his father's generation, including the property at Rubercy, as did his own heir.⁶⁰

Hugh granted a mill of his father's, probably in Longues, and his holding in Guernsey; the confirmation charter of Henry II names his father as Geoffrey Wac (also the name of Hugh's younger son).⁶¹ Geoffrey Wac of *Esturville*, presumably the older brother of Richard (unless they were of Hugh's generation) could have been Hugh's father; he is also named as a witness to the Bayeux charter of Hubert Poisson of 1139 x 1142. If Geoffrey Wac was the father of Hugh and Roger, he had died by (possibly well before) 1154, the date of Roger's charter in Jersey of a gift 'for the souls of his father and mother'. An *Osmundus filius Ricardi Vasce* occurs in 1159 in an unusual hearing at the king's court at Gavray in the Cotentin. The only occurrence of a Richard who held in Jersey is in a settlement of lands at St Helier between monks of the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and Richard of St Helier and Richard *Wace* 'priests'.⁶² If this Richard Wace was not a Wac relative, perhaps he was the canon of Bayeux.

A connection with Hugh's Companion, *Le cil de Combrai*, although surely a co-incidence, is that the honour of Bourne included the Domesday lands of Godfrey de Combrai.⁶³ Alfred de Combrai (not necessarily a descendant), a steward of Earl Ranulf II for a fair at his abbey of St Werburgh, was granted one half of a knight's fee in Nether Whitley around 1143. The testators included a William Bacon, either

⁵⁹ Rubercy was located, during my research visit to Normandy in 1999, with the kind encouragement of Mme Pézeril, widow of the historian of Molay-Littry, Claude Pézeril (author of *Le Bessin Oublié*, Caen 1991, who was awarded the Wace prize for 1983 by Des Léopards de Normandie) and the generous assistance of Priscilla Maniez. The artefacts and a model of the château are housed at the Musée de Normandie in Caen. See: <http://www.mondes-normands.fr/france/archeo/Normandie/mdn/fouilles/rubercy/index.htm>, accessed 29/08/2012.

⁶⁰ P. de Farcy, *Abbayes du Calvados, tome I, Abbaye de Longues*, Paris 1887, 1–68, no. 13, '*pro anima Hugonis Wace, fratris mei*'; MRSN, II, clxxx–xxxI.

⁶¹ '*... terram quam pater meus habuit in insula*' (*Gallia Christiana*, XI, Instrumenta, col. 83, no. xviii); '*terram de Gernerm quam habuit Gaufridus Wac*' (*Acta of Henry II*, ed. Holt and Vincent, no. 1657 (1986H) (1185 x 1189)). For the remaining twelfth-century charters, see de Farcy, *Abbayes du Calvados*, 1–68, no. 13.

⁶² Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 218 and 238. The source is a charter of William, bishop of Coutances. As calendared by J. H. Round, from an 'original in archives', it is dated 'MCXX' (CDF, no. 969), but the same charter 'from a late copy inserted in the Saint-Sauveur cartulary' is dated 1180 (*Cartulaire des îles normandes*, no. 14).

⁶³ King, 'Origins', 167.

the same or a contemporary of the sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1135 x 1154.⁶⁴ The hereditary *Sire del Molei* (Molay) was Roger Bacon, one of several over the generations with this forename (alternating with William) and Bacon was also a long-established surname. He occurs as a testator with Geoffrey Wac in the Bayeux charter of Hubert Poisson. The most prominent family member in England was Richard Bacon, son of William III Bacon.⁶⁵ His mother is thought to have been an illegitimate daughter of Earl Ranulf I *Le Meschin*, which explains the elevated position of the family ('*cognatus meus et familiaris*'). Richard founded Rochester abbey c. 1142–3. Hugh Wac is found with a William Bacon among testators of a confirmation by Earl Ranulf of a gift by Richard Bacon, who witnessed a grant by Earl Ranulf II to Hugh son of Bigod des Loges, who was also known to Wace (as Loyd pointed out); his brother, another William Bacon, is named in one of Richard Bacon's charters to the abbey.⁶⁶

A notorious brother of Roger Bacon was Philip de Colombières. They occur together from 1147 in a series of charters in which Roger compensated Philip de Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, for the murder of his niece, Beatrice, by Robert, a kinsman of Philip de Colombières: the gifts were granted to the priory of Le Plessis-Grimoult. One of the additional donations was the church of Colombières for a prebend of Bayeux.⁶⁷ Clearly the Wac and Bacon families were close associates. The same or another Philip de Colombières was named as a benefactor in the confirmation charter of Henry II for the abbey of Longues, and a later Roger Bacon is named by William Bacon de Molay as his father in his donation to the abbey in 1208.⁶⁸ William and Philip de Colombières also were among benefactors of the abbey of Troarn.⁶⁹ Interestingly, the church of Colombières was part of the prebend of Richard Wace, the canon of Bayeux, who occurs in the charters of 1182 x 1205 and 1200.

Roger Wac, Roger Bacon and Philip de Colombières are among the witnesses of a confirmation by Henry II (dated May 1172 x May 1184) for the leper hospital of Saint-Nicolas de la Chesnaie in the environs of the abbey of Cerisy. The Bacon family of Le Molay and Littry had also established a leprosy *maladerie* at Blagny.⁷⁰ William of Colombières is listed among the Companions with *Le sire de Chaaignes* (lines 8532–4), who has been identified for c. 1066 as William de Cahaignes, sheriff of Northampton under William I.⁷¹ It is also likely that Wace knew of the exploits of his descendant.

Hugh Wac and his Bessin neighbours almost certainly fought in Earl Ranulf's army at Lincoln, which could explain why Wace gave them such prominence. Rather than historical co-incidences, it is tempting also to see inspiration for the

⁶⁴ *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, nos 24 and 67; *Regesta*, III, no. 683.

⁶⁵ Keats-Rohan, *Descendants*, 159; Loyd, *Families*, 10–11; Pézeril, *Bessin (passim)*. A full prosopography of this family would be of interest.

⁶⁶ *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, no. 68 and n.81 and no. 43; G. Barraclough, 'Some Charters of the Earls of Chester', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade, Pipe Roll Society 74, London 1962, 25–42 at 26.

⁶⁷ *Livre noir*, I, no. lii; *Grands rôles*, ed. d'Anisy, II, no. 1363.

⁶⁸ de Farcy, *Abbayes du Calvados*, no. 9, 63.

⁶⁹ R. N. Sauvage, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martin de Trouarn au diocèse de Bayeux: des origines au seizième siècle*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 34, Caen 1911, 350, 356, 385.

⁷⁰ London, TNA, C64/13 (Norman Roll 8 Henry V part 1) m.12, in an inseximus, 4 April 1420; *Acta of Henry II*, ed. Holt and Vincent, no. 161 (1932H); Pézeril, *Bessin*, 94.

⁷¹ van Houts, 'Wace', 121, no. 22; *Regesta*, I, 288b. For the English family, see Keats-Rohan, *Descendants*, 365.

Rou in the lengthy and vivid description of the siege of 1141 by his earlier contemporary Henry of Huntingdon. In one striking scene he names, exclusively, William de Cahaigues, a knight of Earl Robert, who 'rushed upon the king and seizing his helmet cried out "Here everyone, here! I have the king!"' Perhaps Hugh told another story. Other similarities are Henry's (possibly authentic) declarations about Stephen's usurpation of the realm contrary to his oath, the defenders' just cause and the frontline of 'the disinherited'. Among the defeated knights was another of Earl Ranulf's kinsmen by marriage, Baldwin fitzGilbert de Clare, whose 'splendid resistance earned him everlasting glory'. His stirring speech on behalf of Stephen and his insulting address to Ranulf so captivated a later scribe that the episode was illustrated in the manuscript.⁷²

By 1130 Baldwin had acquired Bourne in Lincolnshire by marriage to Adela du Rollos, who inherited the manor of William du Rollos, her uncle.⁷³ The manor was given to Hugh Wac, possibly a reward for his role in the (no doubt chivalrous) capture of Baldwin, and he married their daughter Emma some years before Baldwin's death in 1154: they occur together as witnesses to a gift to Thorney Abbey in 1145 x 1146 and, in splendid comital company, to a grant of a manor in Lindsey to Ranulf's half-brother, William de Roumare, earl of Lincoln, c. 1146.⁷⁴ The manor of Bourne included estates in Lindsey. Interestingly, Wace includes *Lindesie* with Lincoln in his gazetteer of King Harold's towns and counties (lines 7711–33).

King Stephen's promised reward (or bribe) to Earl Ranulf for his fealty after the battle of Lincoln was the castle and the city and extensive estates 'until the king should restore the earl's land in Normandy and all his castles'. Unfortunately, the king in question would not be Stephen. Early in 1153 Duke Henry, just landed from Normandy, offered massive grants to win the support of the leading magnates. Ever the tactician, Ranulf allied with him in a critical agreement at Devizes which would have made him the most powerful magnate in England.⁷⁵

Among the testators *ex parte comitis* are our 'first witnesses', Hugh Wac and his brother Roger, the latter's only known occurrence in England in this period. The extensive rewards promised to Earl Ranulf included estates in the royal demesne (which Duke Henry did not yet possess) and the restoration of the earl's lands in Normandy, including his castles seized in 1142 and the 'county' of the Avranchin. No doubt his vassals also expected to regain their paternal holdings, but there was no mention of the Bessin. The long-held properties of Bayeux in this *vicomté* which had been in the possession of Robert, earl of Gloucester, were included in a quitclaim of 1146 for Philip de Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, 'until an heir should present himself whom the duke of Normandy (then Geoffrey of Anjou) would recognize as Ranulf's rightful heir'.⁷⁶

Even more unfortunately, Earl Ranulf was taken ill and died in December 1153; he was not one of the signatories of the treaty promulgated at Westminster. According to the new laws on hereditary right (including his own) King Henry reneged on the Devizes agreement witnessed by Hugh and his brother Roger. The

⁷² Huntingdon, 18, 80 and n.80, 138; London, BL, MS Arundel 48, f. 168v (end twelfth or early thirteenth century). For the Chester marriages, see Keats-Rohan, *Descendants*, 228, 398, 897.

⁷³ PR1130, ed. J. Green, 88.

⁷⁴ *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, no. 58; *Regesta*, III, no. 494.

⁷⁵ *Regesta*, III, no. 180.

⁷⁶ *Regesta*, III, no. 58, and *Livre noir*, I, no. xli. V. D. Moss, 'The Norman Exchequer Rolls of King John', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church, Woodbridge 2003, 101–16 at 106 n.47. For lands of the *vicomtes* of the Bessin held of Bayeux, see *MRSN*, II, ccxlii–ccxlv and n. a.

‘recognized’ heir of the honour of Chester, Earl Hugh II, then aged six, succeeded only to the lands which his father had held in 1135; the other estates were either kept by Henry or granted to Ranulf’s rivals.⁷⁷ Earl Hugh confirmed the English and Norman possessions of the abbey of Saint-Sever in Vire, c. 1165 x 1173. The ‘farms’ of the Avranchin and Bessin were in his possession by 1180 but his father’s Bayeux tenancies were not recorded in 1172; their first mention is the debt on the Pipe Roll of 1203.⁷⁸

Hugh Wac appears to have settled down by 1143 to baronial duties, marriage and parenting, extending his property in Lincolnshire and reclaiming fenland, probably an art learned in his youth in the marshes of Rubercy, and continued by his son Baldwin.⁷⁹ Like other magnates urging peace, Earl Ranulf made terms with his leading opponents. Hugh was a witness to his restitution of landholdings and forest apparently usurped from Robert, earl of Leicester, agreed ‘in open country (*in agris*)’ between Leicester and Mountsorrel, and to his compensation for ‘injuries (*dampnis*)’ to the abbey of Bardney, and, along with William Bacon, to a grant by Earl Ranulf at Castle Donington. In August 1153 Ranulf was obliged by Duke Henry, who acted as guarantor, to compensate for damages to the church of Lincoln. Again Hugh was a witness.⁸⁰ His status under Henry II is evident from his occurrence in a charter at Oxford (1163 x 1164) as the last-named testator with Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, Reginald earl of Cornwall, Richard du Hommet, the constable, and Richard de Lucy, the chief justiciar.⁸¹

Perhaps by then, or soon afterwards, Hugh was in possession of his considerable patrimony, certainly by 1168, although, in common with other cross-Channel landholders, he could have been pre-empting his inheritance in the Bessin by founding an abbey. His grant of the former tenancy of his father Geoffrey in the parish of St Saviour in Guernsey was subsequently known as the *Fief de Longues*.⁸² Hugh is named in several local studies as *seigneur* of the Chester *Fief le Comte* (originally the *Fief du Bessin*), the western half of the island. There is no record of how or when he acquired this estate, which was in King Henry’s hands during Earl Hugh II’s minority.⁸³

The outstanding questions are the relationship between the Wac family and Wace and the origin of his prebend as the (presumed) canon of Bayeux. The first who can be considered a direct ancestor of Hugh Wac is Joffredus, the benefactor to the priory of Saint-Gabriel. This is evidence of at least his position as a vassal of a family surnamed de Creully, who also donated their share of the church of Saint-Gabriel;

⁷⁷ Crouch, *Stephen*, 278.

⁷⁸ *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, 181; Moss, ‘Exchequer’, 105–7 and n.33.

⁷⁹ D. M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire 5, Lincoln 1971, 5, 57.

⁸⁰ *Charters of Earls of Chester*, nos. 68 (1143–4), 82 (1145 x 1147), 96 (1149 x 1153), 40 (c. 1150), and 106.

⁸¹ Charter of Henry II for Warner de Lisors, *The Cartae Antiquae, II, Rolls 11–20*, ed. J. C. Davies, London 1960, no. 409; *Acta of Henry II*, ed. Holt and Vincent, no. 1599 (1287H).

⁸² See note 61 above. See, for example, *Cartulaire des îles normandes*, 202–3; *MRSN*, II, lxxxiii; A. H. Ewen, ‘The Fiefs of the Island of Guernsey’, *Transactions of La Société Guernesaise* 17, 1961, 174–209 at 183 and references. With thanks to Hugh Lenfesty, *seigneur* of the Fief le Comte, for his assistance in 2004 with my research and a guided tour of his fief and the site of the medieval court of the *Fief de Longues*.

⁸³ A ‘*vicecomes*’ of the land of the earl of Chester in Guernsey, Richard Monachus, was in office in 1156 (*Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, ed. L. Delisle, Rouen 1873, II, 244 no. 18. See also *Charters of the Earls of Chester*, 57 and note).

property here is mentioned in Hugh's foundation charter of the abbey of Longues. Three generations contributed substantial properties, money, and numerous other gifts to the priory, and are assumed to have held of the son of Haimo *dentatus*, Robert, the *seigneur* of Creully, named in the foundation charter (*pro seniore meo Rotberto*). The principals were Richard, son of Turstin and brother of the monk Vitalis of Fécamp, his son Turstin, his brother, also Turstin, and his mother Turnvisa. In his study of the charters, Musset discussed the 'concordance of fiefs' with those of the contemporary Goz family of the Avranchin and Cotentin. He concluded that it was not possible to distinguish between the de Creully family seniors and 'Turstin 1 Goz', *vicomte* of the Hiémois under Duke Richard II, and 'Turstin 3', brother of Hugh d'Avranches, post-Conquest earl of Chester.⁸⁴ David Bates noted Musset's (among others') 'innuendoes of undiscovered relationships ... between the two *vicomtes* Thurstan Goz and Haimo *dentatus*'.⁸⁵

If Musset's hypothesis is accepted, and the maternal descent of Wace from Turstin Goz de Creully, it could have been from a marriage in his grandfather's or great-grandfather's generation. As well as his description of the death of Haimo of Creully at Val-ès-Dunes, Wace provided long anecdotes about Haimo's son Robert who, in 1106, 'held the honour of Torigny and extensive lands around Creully' and changed his allegiance to Henry I. He was rewarded with the hereditary wardenship of Caen (lines 11,074–102, 11,200–42). Robert's daughter Mabel, heir to his honour of Gloucester, was married to King Henry's son Robert before 1121, when he acquired the earldom and, among other properties, the lordship of Creully. Did Wace acquire his prebend through a Wac tenant of this family? In the twelfth century, several members occur in charters as canons of Bayeux, an example of the nepotism discussed by David Spear.⁸⁶ A Richard de Creully is among the witnesses, with Wace, of a charter of Richard du Hommet for Bayeux cathedral (see charter no. 3, below) and also attested a charter confirming the compensatory gifts of Philip de Colombières in 1147. In his charter for Philip bishop of Bayeux, King Henry II confirmed the augmentation of the revenue for the chapter by Philip de Colombières and his gift of the church with all its appurtenances for a prebend.⁸⁷

The charter for the priory of Le Plessis-Grimoult witnessed by *magister Wasc* (c. 1170 x 1173, see charter no. 2, below) has the most resonance with the content of the *Roman de Rou*. As Elisabeth van Houts has demonstrated, the account by Wace of the battle of Val-ès-Dunes is unique in its reference to one of the leading rebels against Duke William, Grimoult de Plessis, who is not mentioned by either William of Jumièges or William of Poitiers.⁸⁸ The rebels were punished, but eventually pardoned, except for Grimoult. He was condemned as a traitor and imprisoned in chains at Rouen for life. His barony of Plessis with its dependent estates, and his property in the city of Bayeux, were confiscated by William and, after his death in 1074, granted to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who kept the manor of Plessis and the forest of Montpinchon and created seven prebends from the remaining territories. These are detailed in the charter and in the 1133 Bayeux Inquest. Wace could have

⁸⁴ 'Chartes du prieuré de Saint-Gabriel', ed. Musset. See notes 29 and 43 above.

⁸⁵ D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, London 1982, 135.

⁸⁶ D. S. Spear, 'Power, Patronage and Personality in the Norman Cathedral Chapters, 911–1204', *ANS* 10, 1997, 205–21 at 210 and n.32, 213. I owe David Spear considerable thanks for his assistance, his interest in Master Wace, and for providing me with copies of his publications.

⁸⁷ *Livre noir*, I, nos. lii and xxxiii; *Acta of Henry II*, ed. Holt and Vincent, no. 153 (1575H) (1156 x 1162).

⁸⁸ van Houts, 'Wace', 106–7, n.21.

found his information for the *Rou* in documents at Caen and Bayeux, or (depending on when he took up his duties as non-dignitary canon) when he witnessed charters, especially those for Troarn and Le Plessis-Grimoult.

One consideration is that canon Richard Wace, whose prebend included the church of Colombières, could have been the son or nephew of (Master) Wace.⁸⁹ In this case it would mean that, rather than Wace being rewarded with a prebend (just a prebend, one might add) for his literary achievements, he had a heritable holding, possibly as a member of the Bacon-Wac-de Creully milieu. It is another startling co-incidence to find, in the confirmation of c. 1170 x 1173 by Bishop Henry II of Bayeux for Le Plessis-Grimoult, the earlier Wac holding at *Esteruilla*, named as the fief of *Alemi de Falesia*.⁹⁰

There is no record of the death of Wace. If, as the author of *Roman de Rou*, he was considered worthy of an invitation to the coronation of Young Henry, the son of King Henry II, he would have witnessed the cross-Channel disaster of March 1170 in which the convoy bearing the king, his household and 'many noble families' to England was struck by a fierce storm. Five vessels were sunk with the loss of nearly four hundred lives.⁹¹ Given the datings of the charters below we can assume that Wace survived well into the following decade.

Charter Attestations by Canon Wace *Judith Everard*

1. Charter of Henry, bishop of Bayeux, confirming an agreement between the cathedral chapter of Bayeux and the abbey of Saint-Martin de Troarn, dated February 1169 (?1170)

MS: Caen, AD Calvados, H7745, *Chartrier blanc* of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Troarn, no. 13, pp. 4–5, in a text dated 1414–15 recording the resolution of a dispute between the bishop of Bayeux and the abbey of Troarn over the benefices and parish churches forming the liberty of the abbey.⁹²

... Actum est hoc [anno] ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo nono mense Februario. His testibus Henrico episcopo nostro, Willelmo decano, Heberto precentore, Hunfredo cancellario, Jordano, Th(om)a, Gal[er]ano archidiaconis, Willelmo sacrista, Henrico succentore, Roberto subdecano, Radulfo auunculo episcopi, Rogero de Aureio, Willelmo de Brollo, Radulfo de Petrariis, magistro Roberto de Bolum, Ricardo de Crol', Ricardo de Ros, Wacio, Ricardo filio Mauricii, Iohanne fratre, Radulfo de Doura, Philippo dentato canonicis. Willermo abbate Cadumi, Heluino priore, Cilaro subpriore, Willelmo nepote com(ite), Roberto de Siccauilla, Martino thesaurario, Stephano Tholome, Hunfredo de Meol, Thoma

⁸⁹ U. T. Holmes, 'Norman Literature and Wace', in *Medieval Secular Literature*, ed. W. Matthews, Berkeley CA 1969, 66–7; *Livre Noir*, I, nos. lvi and lxxx.

⁹⁰ Caen, AD Calvados, MS H non classé no. 42, fols 43r–44v. An extract from the same charter is appended as no. 2 below. See above, p. 70.

⁹¹ For example, Roger of Howden, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51, 1868–1871. We are grateful to Matthew Bennett for the source references.

⁹² A counterpart of this charter was issued by Gislebert, abbot of Troarn (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 10086, f. 13; *Livre noir*, i, 161–4, no. CXXXV). Although bearing the same date and with the same witnesses, the abbot's charter omits the names of five consecutive witnesses designated as canons, including 'Wacio'.

de Versum monachis. Guilleberto abbate de Troart, Rogero can' priore, Willelmo sapiente balliuo, Osmero cantore, Hugone Taisson, Ricardo Peurel, Rogero lebusle monachis, Willelmo senescalo, Osulfo de Rauuilla, Iordano de Bauent, Roberto de Gatheuille, Symone de Esturis et pluribus aliis.

2. Charter of Henry, bishop of Bayeux, confirming awards to the priory of Le Plessis-Grimoult by the bishops of Bayeux and others. Undated (c. 1170 x 1173)⁹³

MS: Caen, AD Calvados, H non classé, cartulary of Le Plessis-Grimoult, f. 43v–45r, no. 42 (fifteenth century).

... Lecta est autem hec carta in capitulo Baiocen(sis) presentibus istis et concedentibus magistro Unfr(ido) archicap(ellano), Gautero arch(idiacono), Thoma arch(idiacono), Galer(ano) arch(idiacono)⁹⁴, Stephano arch(idiacono), Roberto subdec(ano), magistro Iordano sacrista, Henrico succ(entor), Rogero de Arreio, Ricardo de Ros, Guillermo de Broilio, Ricardo de Croleio, Siluestr(o) thesaur(ario) Lexou' canonico nostro, Radulpho de Perr', Ric(ardo) filio Maur(icii), Philippo dentato, Bartholomeo, magistro Willelmo de Crisetot, Radupho de Doura, magistro Azone, Roberto pilleu', magistro Ran', magistro Wasc', Thoma nepote dec(ani), Petro nepote decani, Stephano nepote subdec(ani), Helia de Sancto Georgio et aliis pluribus.

3. Charter of Richard of Le Hommet, recording the settlement of a dispute between himself and the cathedral chapter of Bayeux over the church of Carcagny, confirmed in the chapel of Henry, bishop of Bayeux, on 14 January 1174 (1175)

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 10086, *Livre noir* of Bayeux cathedral, f. 13.

Pd: *Livre noir*, ed. Bourrienne, I, pp. 54–6, no. XLV.

...Facta est hec concordia Baiocis in presentia Henrici Baiocensis episcopi in capella ipsius, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo septuagesimo quarto, nono decimo kalendas Februarii, presentibus Willelmo decano Baiocensi, Stephano et Thoma et Roberto archidiaconis, Hunfrido cancellario episcopi, Azone subdecano, Henrico succentor, Willelmo de Broleio, Rogero de Arreio, Radulfo de Petrariis, Ricardo Comin, Ricardo filio Mauricii, Roberto Pelleue, Ricardo de Croleio, Ricardo de Ros, Willelmo de Criseto, Wascio, Bartholomeo, Helya, Philippo, Radulfo de Douera, Thoma de Anfreuilla, Petro de Bosco, Johanne de

⁹³ The earliest date of c. 1170 is determined by the office of treasurer (*sacrista*) of Bayeux cathedral. William (of Harcourt) was treasurer from 1148 and is last recorded in 1169–70 (D. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204*, London 2006, 44–6, and see no. 1 above). Master Jordan was treasurer in the 1170s (Spear, *Personnel*, 46). The latest probable date of c. 1173 is determined by:

(1) Master Humphrey (Bove) the chancellor (archicapellanus) who last appears in January 1174 and was succeeded as chancellor by Master Ranulf c. 1176, certainly by 1177 (Spear, *Personnel*, 48–9).

(2) Robert (of Maintenon) the sub-dean, recorded as such from 1148 to 1172, but archdeacon by 1177 (Spear, *Personnel*, 42, 50). Master Azo, apparently a non-dignitary canon in this charter, was sub-dean by January 1174 (Spear, *Personnel*, 50, 57–8).

⁹⁴ 'galer' arch' is added in the margin in a different hand.

Condeio, Humphrey Boue, Johanne Grogneith, Johanne Guarnerii, Willelmo de Solers, Eudone de Briceio, Willelmo de Carchigneio et pluribus aliis.

4. Charter of Henry, bishop of Bayeux, confirming his award to Thomas of Amfréville, canon of Bayeux, of certain revenues from fishing due from the men of his prebend at Port-en-Bessin (Calvados, canton Ryes). Undated (c. 1175 x 1191)⁹⁵

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 10086, *Livre noir* of Bayeux cathedral, f. 35.

Pd. *Livre noir*, ed. Bourienne, I, no. CXXXII, p. 159.

Testibus magistro Rannulfo cancellario, Patricio subdecano, Radulfo archidiacono, Vigore, Wanceio et pluribus aliis.

⁹⁵ David Spear gives the limits as 1176 x 1191 (*Personnel*, 82, 83). The beneficiary, Thomas of *Anfrevilla* (Amfréville, Calvados, canton Troarn), attested with Wace in January 1174 (no. 3 above). The attestations here, however, support a date towards the end of this period:

(1) Master Ranulf the chancellor succeeded Humphrey as chancellor between 1174 and 1177 and held the office until c. 1190 (Spear, *Personnel*, 49).

(2) Patrick succeeded Master Azo as sub-dean c. 1176 and held the office until 1198 (Spear, *Personnel*, 50).

(3) Ralf the archdeacon, if Master Ralf of Condé, was archdeacon in 1189, but probably not for too many years prior to that, since he died as abbot of Savigny in 1220 (Spear, *Personnel*, 43).

FROM MINSTER TO MANOR: THE EARLY HISTORY OF BREDON

Vanessa King

The purpose of this paper is to chart the early history of Bredon from monastery to episcopal manor between the eighth and early twelfth centuries.¹ The village of Bredon lies at the base of Bredon Hill near the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire border on the river Avon, three and a half miles from Tewkesbury. The modern parish includes the hamlets of Kinsham, Westmancote, Mitton and Bredon's Norton. Cutsdean was part of the parish until transferred to Gloucestershire in 1912.² The association of these outliers with Bredon can be traced back centuries. All but Kinsham were named in Domesday Book and belonged to the bishop of Worcester's manor of Bredon assessed at 35 hides.³ The name 'Bredon' is a testament to a long history of human settlement, being a compound of the British *bre* and the OE *dūn*, both meaning 'hill', and thus, like New York, so good they named it twice!⁴

The settlement was long associated with the bishopric of Worcester. It was Ann who first alerted me to the rich archive of the see and in particular London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, which incorporates the *Liber Wigorniensis* (LW) (folios 1–118) and Hemming's cartulary (*Codicellus*) (folios 119–200). From internal evidence the compilation of the LW is dated between 996 and 1016 and the *Codicellus* to the five-month period between the death of St Wulfstan on 20 January 1095 and the consecration of his successor, Samson. In addition, there are fragments of another cartulary produced during the episcopacy of St Wulfstan (1062 x 1095).⁵ The LW consists of copies of charters and leases dating from the early eighth century to 996, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for its compilation. Additional marginal notes against several of St Oswald's leases naming subsequent tenants and the episcopal vill to which they belonged suggests that this was a working document during the period when Archbishop Wulfstan was bishop of Worcester (1002 x 1016). The LW is the main source for the early history of Bredon.⁶ In addition, the antiquary William Dugdale on his visit to Worcester in 1643 noted two

¹ It is a testament to the generosity of spirit possessed by Ann that I am indebted to her for her assistance in reading drafts of this paper intended for her festschrift. I would also like to thank David Roffe for his endless patience and forbearance.

² *VCH Worcestershire*, III, 279.

³ GDB 173: *DB Worcs*, 2,22.

⁴ D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce*, Manchester 1985, 35–7.

⁵ The so-called Nero-Middleton cartulary (London, BL, MS Cotton, Nero E.i, part 2, fols. 181–4 and BL, Add. MS 46204). See F. Tinti, 'Si Litterali Memorie Commendaretur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter, C. E. Karkov, J. L. Nelson and D. Pelteret, Farnham 2009, 475–98.

⁶ For a definitive discussion of the Worcester archive before 1100, see F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100*, Farnham 2010.

now lost grants concerning Bredon.⁷ Finally, we have one original lease issued by Bishop Aldred in 1058 to his unnamed *minister* of 2 hides and a yardland *æt norð tune* (Bredon's Norton).⁸ Thus, with one exception, our documentary evidence for the foundation and subsequent history of Bredon is based on cartulary copies made sometime between 996 and 1016. It is also clear that when copied into the LW many were modified to reflect a foundation tradition current at Worcester around the year 1000. Thereafter, there is scant reference to Bredon until the Domesday survey when it is clear that by 1066 the bulk of the minster's estates had been attached to the bishop of Worcester's manor of Bredon.

The early charters in the collection are all spurious and at best can be considered to preserve some authentic base. Tradition states that Æthelbald of Mercia granted an unspecified amount of land at Bredon in 716 x 717 to his kinsman, Eanwulf, for the building of a monastery. This, now lost, 'foundation charter' was seen by Dugdale but was clearly faulty with anachronistic reference to St Mary's, Worcester, and exemption from all services but the three common dues.⁹ Its absence from the Worcester archive during the period under discussion suggests that it was a later forgery.¹⁰

Another lost charter in favour of Bredon, seen by Dugdale, was a grant dated 773 by Ealdred, under-king of the Hwicce, of an unspecified amount of land at Weston-on-Avon in Gloucestershire.¹¹ However, no other link to Bredon survives and it appears that by the end of the tenth century the land was attached to the manor of Stratford. *Westun* appears as a boundary marker in a grant by Bishop Wilfrid (922 x 929) of 2 hides at Clifford Chambers to the monks' refectory at Worcester in 922.¹² The same Weston was leased by Bishop Oswald in 966 to Wihthelm, his *minister*, with reversion to the church of Worcester and a marginal note indicates that it belonged to Stratford.¹³ There is an original three-life lease issued by Ealdred in the 1050s to Bal[d]win of 2 *mansi* and 1 *pertica* at Weston-on-Avon, but by 1086 it was in the hands of Hugh de Grandmesnil.¹⁴

A more trustworthy document associated with Bredon is a three-life lease of 8 hides at Evenlode, Gloucestershire, given by Offa of Mercia in the 770s to his *minister* Ridda with reversion to Bredon.¹⁵ The subsequent lives were to be his wife, Bucga, and daughter Heahburg and they were to hold *in usus ecclesiasticæ liberali-*

⁷ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1, 607–8; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 2nd edn, Leicester 1972, nos. 31 and 208.

⁸ S 1405; London, BL, Add. Ch. 19801 (s. xi med).

⁹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1, 607. See N. Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in Eighth- and Ninth-Century England', *England Before the Conquest*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, Cambridge 1971, 69–84 at 76–7 and 77 n.1, for the exemption from all but bridge and fortress construction.

¹⁰ Absence of any reference to Bredon in the *Codicellus* could be explained by the fact that Hemming was concerned only with lands and services claimed by the monks; c.f. A. Williams, 'The Spoliation of Worcester', *ANS* 19, 1996, 383–408. However, Hemming does refer to services withheld by Urse D'Abitot from Redmarley which had been part of the episcopal vill at Bredon since the tenth century (*Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford 1723, 254).

¹¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1, 607; Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, no. 208.

¹² S 1289; G. Hickes, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, Oxford 1703, 174–5.

¹³ S 1311; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, 94r–v. It is generally assumed this is the same estate referred to in S 1289, although there is no boundary clause attached to St Oswald's lease to make a comparison.

¹⁴ GDB 169: *DB Gloucs*, 62.5. Baldwin's TRE tenancy is noted, but clearly the tax assessment was increased to 4 hides before 1086.

¹⁵ S 109.

tatis.¹⁶ No other reference to Ridda survives but as a king's *minister* he would have been a man of some standing and it is possible that he was related to Headored (or Hadored) bishop of Worcester (781 x 799) who in turn was a kinsman of Headda, putative abbot of Dowdeswell in Gloucestershire. Headored, Headda and Ridda's daughter, Heahburg, share the first name element of *Hea* which is relatively uncommon.¹⁷ Abbot Headda alludes to his kinship with Bishop Headored in a bequest to his descendants in priestly orders of his inheritance at Dowdeswell and Tyreltune (?Whittington) and estates at Andoversford, Pegglesworth and Upper Dowdeswell.¹⁸ Ultimately, if no one within the family was willing to enter the priesthood, the estates would revert to the bishopric of Worcester.¹⁹ Incidentally, one of the witnesses to Headda's bequest was Bynna *dux*, later accused of despoiling Worcester of 5 hides at Aust, in Gloucestershire. Bishop Headored proved his right to Aust by producing an Æthelbald charter at the synod of *Clovesho* in 794.²⁰ Five years earlier Headored had made a successful claim against Wulfheard son of Cusa for restoration of land at Inkberrow and Bradley; again Bynna was a witness.²¹

A key factor in the success of Worcester's early bishops acquiring and retaining estates must surely have been not just their political acumen but kinship connections with local powerful elites.²² It is therefore tempting to speculate that another successful bishop of Worcester, Heahberht (822–845 x 848), was also connected with Ridda. If we accept a kinship link between Ridda and bishops Headored and Heahberht, then Worcester's interest in the fortunes of Bredon monastery takes on a personal as well as spiritual association. Otherwise, just what the relationship was between Bredon and Worcester in these early years is difficult to determine.

The earliest documents *directly* in favour of Bredon preserved in the Worcester archive are two charters apparently issued by Offa of Mercia in 780 which survive in varying degrees of completeness.²³ The first, S 116, grants 5 hides at Teddington, on the Carrant Brook, 10 at (Little) Washbourne, 10 at Cutsdean and 10 at Bredon's Norton. Offa states that Eanwulf *avus meus* founded the *monasterium* dedicated to St Peter and the estates were to remain forever in the control of his kin.²⁴ Based on the undoubted later association of these estates with Bredon, S 116 is considered to have an authentic base. It is worth noting that the total assessment of 35 hides mirrors that of the manor of Bredon in 1086 and might suggest that the reorganization of Bredon's estates was complete by 996 x 1016.²⁵ Either the amount of land was unspecified in the original charter or it was lost and the scribe inserted assessment values current at the time of copying. Clearly by the tenth century little or no documentation had survived to illustrate the history of Bredon monastery and its possessions or how they came into Worcester's hands.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the granting of land to laymen with ecclesiastical liberties, see P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge 1990, 154–5.

¹⁷ PASE reveals the variant spellings of Headored and Hadored occur four times apiece and a total of 115 individuals with the first element *Hea* or *Had*:

¹⁸ S 1413; BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii.

¹⁹ Headda acquired 10 hides at Andoversford in 759 from the three under-kings of the Hwicce, Earnberht, Uhtred and Ealdred (S 56).

²⁰ S 137; BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 54r–v.

²¹ S 1430; BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 7v–8v.

²² The early bishops of Worcester were probably related to the Hwiccian royal family, but such speculation must remain conjectural.

²³ S 116; London, BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 11r–12r.

²⁴ S 117; BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 11r–12r.

²⁵ This is also suggested by Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 85–125.

Another charter of 780 purports to give Bredon 10 hides at *Waersetfelda* (Wast Hills in Alvechurch), 5 hides at Cofton Hackett and 5 hides at Rednal in King's Norton, Worcestershire.²⁶ As with S 116, several versions of S 117 survive and it is considered untrustworthy, particularly with the reversionary clause *in usum episcopi Weogernensis* which is in direct contrast to that in S 116 where the land was to remain *sub domino ac potestate parentillæ meæ atque cognationi rite per successiones hæredum juste succedentium permaneat in perpetuum*. However, although we cannot accept this grant in its present form, it is clear that the estates were in Worcester's hands by the middle of the ninth century, a point to which we will return.

Suffice it to say, if we accept the general consensus that there is, at the very least, a genuine base for S 116 and 117, then by 780 the minster at Bredon was a thriving religious community, in the hands of a member of Offa's kindred, drawing income from estates in excess of 55 hides located to the south and northeast of the diocese approximately twenty miles apart. In addition, Bredon would be the ultimate beneficiary of 8 hides at Evenlode in Gloucestershire. However, it is difficult to square this scenario with the record of a settlement, S 1297, made at the synod of Brentford barely a year later between Bishop Headored of Worcester and King Offa, which is also preserved in the LW.²⁷ We only have the bishop of Worcester's version of the events that took place. According to the bishop, the king claimed that he, Headored, and his *familia* were unjustly holding 201 hides of his, the king's, inheritance from his kinsman King Æthelbald of Mercia.²⁸ Included in this figure were 12 hides *æt Breodune* which it is assumed refers to the original endowment of the minster.²⁹ The outcome of this dispute was that Worcester would keep, *inter alia*, the land *æt Breodune* which was to be exempt from paying the king's farm for three years. No reference was made in the Brentford settlement to the 55 hides given to Bredon by Offa in 780 nor to Bredon's reversionary interest in Ridda's lease of Evenlode.

The interpretation of early documentation is incredibly difficult, particularly when dependent upon cartulary copies produced over 200 years after the event. The Brentford settlement implies that in 781 Bredon only possessed 12 hides of land. This would certainly explain why the contents of S 116 and 117 are faulty and contain contradictory clauses. I would suggest they were produced prior to the compilation of the LW to reflect ownership of estates that were being administratively reorganized around episcopal manors centred upon defunct religious centres, a process that had commenced during the episcopacy of St Oswald (961 x 992).

Of what then did the original endowment of Bredon comprise? In trying to answer this question we hit the inevitable problem facing any historian studying early Anglo-Saxon settlements, i.e. reliance on later evidence.³⁰ The long series of leases issued by St Oswald, many with boundary clauses, provide the first opportunity to study in detail the topographical and geographical settlement of the West

²⁶ For pedantic souls like me, it will be noted that S 117 appears before S 116 in the LW: BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 6r–v and 11r–12r respectively. S 117 appears as the last of five charters labelled by Francesca Tinti as 'the Alvechurch group' as they all pertain to land in the north-eastern corner of the diocese in Came Hundred (*Sustaining Belief*, 94).

²⁷ S 1257; BL Cotton Tib. A. xiii, 106r–107r; trans *EHD*, 1, 505–6. For a full discussion, see C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850*, Leicester 1995.

²⁸ See Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England*.

²⁹ The dispute also concerned 30 hides *æt Stretforda* (Stratford-on-Avon) whose lands were subsequently leased by the bishops of Worcester.

³⁰ See Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscape*.

Midlands.³¹ Whatever the position *vis-à-vis* the foundation of Oswaldslow hundred and the history of the short-lived county of Winchcombe, it is clear that St Oswald initiated major reform with the carving up of larger estates to form smaller leasehold units as evidenced by the number of leases issued in his name and copied into the LW. Marginal notes in the LW indicate that the process of grouping estates around episcopal villas that were originally centres of early minsters had begun in the last quarter of the tenth century. Some five villas are specifically named; Kempsey, Bredon, Tredington, Ripple and Stratford.³² To what extent any of these, including Bredon, still provided a religious function in the tenth century remains speculative. Several of St Oswald's leases mention the payment of church scot, but whether these were to be paid locally or centrally to Worcester is not entirely clear.

Domesday Book has its limitations in that it rarely identifies demesne land and reliance must be placed on twelfth-century or later land surveys for place-names. In 1086, Bredon was assessed at 35 hides, of which 10 were in demesne. Similarly, not all land in a specified area might be tenanted. We are fortunate in relation to Worcester that tenurial units remained remarkably constant over centuries. (Bredon's) Norton is a case in point and provides clues as to the original composition of Bredon's twelve hides. As I hope to show, documentary evidence suggests that the original foundation of Bredon monastery comprised, at a conservative estimate, modern-day Bredon, Bredon's Norton and Bredon's Hardwick.

Our earliest reference to Bredon's Norton is the LW copy of Offa's putative charter of 780 (S 116) granting, *inter alia*, 10 hides *aet Nordtune* to Bredon monastery. Bredon's Norton by its very name demonstrates that it was a later settlement north of the *tun*, that is Bredon. The Worcester archive reveals that between the late tenth and early thirteenth centuries more or less the same portion of land, known as *Nordtune* or *Nortune*, was used as *laenland*, that is, land leased with the right to choose heirs for a specified term, usually three lives. The earliest extant lease is dated 989 and was issued by St Oswald to his *minister* Byrcstan and consisted of 1½ hides *aet Nordtune*. The LW names a second life, Ælfstan, who was presumably Byrcstan's son.³³ After expiry of the third life, the estate reverted to Worcester and was then re-issued by Bishop Aldred in 1058 to his *minister* Dodda, for which transaction an original lease survives.³⁴ That only a portion of *Nordtune* was assigned as *laenland* can be seen from the text. Dodda was granted 'a certain small portion of an estate, 2 *mansae* and also one *pertica*, which by those who know is called by the name Norton'.³⁵ A postscript indicates that this land included 'the three acres of meadowland on Avon water-meadow that St Oswald added to the land for Bercestane'. This is a reference to the original lease issued in 989. From Domesday Book we learn that Dodda died sometime before 1066 as the TRE tenant was Leofwine 'the bishop's *radman*' and by 1086 it was in the hands of Durand the sheriff.³⁶

³¹ See D. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, Woodbridge 1990, and S. Bassett, 'The Administrative Landscape of the Diocese of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt, Leicester 1996, 147–73.

³² Five leases are noted as belonging to Bredon, S 1336, 1338, 1326, 1306 and 1363 respectively.

³³ LW, f. 79v–80. See also V. King, 'The Tenants of St Oswald', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, 100–16.

³⁴ S 1405; BL Add. Ch. 19801 (s. xi med).

³⁵ D. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds*, Woodbridge 1990, 368–70.

³⁶ GDB, 173; *DB Worcs*, 2, 29. 'In demesne are 10 hides, and there are 3 ploughs; and 33 villans and 13 bordars with 20 ploughs.'

The Red Book of Worcester, containing a number of land surveys from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, supplements our information but has to be treated with caution. It survives as a faulty eighteenth-century transcription of a lost manuscript which was loosely edited and published by Marjory Hollings in two volumes in 1934.³⁷ For our purposes, under the heading 'Domesday' there is a list of demesne tenants of Bredon that from internal evidence cannot be earlier than the episcopacy of John de Pageham (1151 x 1157).³⁸ From this survey we see that there was still a 2-hide estate at Bredon's Norton, in the hands of Hamo de Turre, and a further 6½ hides were parcelled out between 33 named smallholders.³⁹ This shows a remarkable degree of continuity in land use when we note that the number of villeins in 1086 holding demesne land belonging to Bredon was also 33.⁴⁰ One might therefore hazard a guess that over half the demesne in 1086 was located at Bredon's Norton. Thus, it would appear that from 989 until the end of the thirteenth century at the least, some three-quarters of the bishop's holding at Bredon's Norton were in demesne with a quarter reserved as *laenland*, making a total of approximately 8½ hides located at Bredon's Norton which brings us tantalizingly close to the tenth-century figure of 10 hides identified in S 116.

The original hidage of Bredon monastery is assumed to have included the 8½ hides identified above and to that figure must be added land at Bredon itself, where by the mid-twelfth century there was one hide of land shared equally by four men. One of these was archdeacon Osbert which suggests the presence of a church.⁴¹ Another settlement, first identified in the twelfth century, is Bredon's Hardwick (a mile southeast of Bredon) also assessed at one hide. Whilst it is acknowledged that number crunching hides is notoriously unreliable, it is suggested that the original *mensa* of Bredon monastery consisted of the land at Bredon's Norton and Bredon. It is possible that the later settlements of Mitton, Moreton and Bredon's Hardwick were carved out of the original 12 hides *aet Breodune*. Indeed, 'hardwick' means 'a sheep farm' and would suggest a subordinate relationship to an estate centre.⁴²

Although the extent of Bredon's estates in 780 might be questioned, it seems that by the early ninth century the bishop of Worcester did possess many of the estates that were later linked to Bredon in its new guise as an episcopal vill. We can see this from the production of a number of documents preserved in the Worcester archive from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries issued between 840 and 849.

It is ironic (suspicious?) that the first abbot of Bredon we can definitively name appears to have been its last. A charter issued in 840 at Tamworth, records that Eanmund, abbot of Bredon, paid 120 mancuses of pure gold to Berhtwulf, king of Mercia, in return for perpetual exemption from entertaining *fæstingmen* (S 193). Sims-Williams suggests that the gift refers to Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, but this begs the question why were several versions of this charter preserved at

³⁷ M. Hollings, *The Red Book of the Bishopric of Worcester*, 2 vols., Worcestershire Historical Society, 1934. I am grateful to Professor Christopher Dyer for clarifying a number of points regarding the Red Book.

³⁸ *Red Book of Worcester*, I, 108–9.

³⁹ *Red Book of Worcester*, I, 109. The actual figure is 6 hides and 1½ virgates. Hamo is presumably one of the two sons of Walter de Turre who held a virgate from the manor of Wick Episcopi (*Red Book of Worcester*, I, 57).

⁴⁰ GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2,22.

⁴¹ *Red Book of Worcester*, I, 110.

⁴² I am grateful to David Roffe for this reference.

Worcester in the late tenth or early eleventh century.⁴³ The death of Abbot Eanmund soon after 841 might explain the existence of two (now lost) charters concerning 30 hides belonging to Kempsey minster and 12 hides belonging to Bredon. They show that in 844 Bishop Allhun settled the aforementioned land on his cathedral clergy only for them to be granted back to him on lease in 847 for two lives.⁴⁴ It seems likely that the documents refer to two failing minsters, Kempsey and Bredon, acquired by the cathedral church and show an attempt by the bishop to keep them functioning. Allhun's personal interest in Kempsey is revealed by his dedication of an oratory to St Andrew the Apostle there in 868.⁴⁵ Kempsey is first referenced in a grant of uncertain date, but probably 802, by which King Coenwulf of Mercia gave 30 hides of the minster's land to Abbot Balthun in exchange for land at Harvington, Worcestershire.⁴⁶ In the late eleventh century Harvington was described as part of the patrimony of Bishop Deneberht of Worcester (798 x 800–822).⁴⁷ The need to recompense kindred claims would explain Deneberht's acquisition of a two-life lease from the cathedral clergy of Worcester seen by Dugdale.⁴⁸ Worcester's acquisition of Bredon was probably occasioned by Abbot Eanmund's death soon after 841. No documentary evidence of religious activity at Kempsey or Bredon survives after 868 for the period under discussion. Whatever the position, from the second half of the ninth century both Kempsey and Bredon were held directly by the bishop of Worcester which would pave the way for the territorial reorganization in the late tenth century by which time Kempsey and Bredon had become manorial centres.

It is clear that the 840s was a testing time for Worcester but the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries are patchy for this period making commentary on the political situation in the West Midlands speculative.⁴⁹ The existence of several charters issued by Berhtwulf, king of Mercia (840 x 852) granting privileges to various churches and monasteries in return for hard cash suggests a need to build up resources in order to buy support. Reference has already been made to the sale of privileges to Bredon in 840 and in the same year at the Easter gathering of the Mercian Witan, the king was forced to restore land to Worcester that he had bestowed on 'his own men just as hostile men instructed him' (S 192).⁵⁰ The estates involved were Stoulton in Worcestershire, and (Little) Washbourne, Kermerton, *Tateringctun* and Cutsdean, all in Gloucestershire, and were located at the southern edge of the diocese. Finberg suggests the identification of *Tateringctun* as Taddington but it is possible that Teddington was intended here.⁵¹ Annotation in the LW suggests that two tenth-century leases involving land at Teddington and Washbourne belonged to the episcopal vill of Bredon by 1016. Cutsdean was probably attached at the same time. All three estates were Bredon outliers in 1086.

The granting of a five-life lease of 20 hides to Berhtwulf by Bishop Allhun and his *familia* nine years later, in 849, 'so that he might be a better friend to them',

⁴³ S 193. There is another, spurious, charter purporting to grant privileges to Bredon in exchange for land at *Stanlege* and at *Bellanford* (?Belford, Northants) which is not in the Worcester archive (S 197).

⁴⁴ Dugdale's list of charters at Worcester in 1643 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 12, 502–6 and Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1, 608; Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, nos. 251 and 253.

⁴⁵ John of Worcester, II, 284–5.

⁴⁶ S 152.

⁴⁷ *Heming*, 390, 572.

⁴⁸ Dugdale, *Monasticon* 1, 608.

⁴⁹ See *ASC*, Swanton, 64–5.

⁵⁰ S 129; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, f. 12r-v; *EHD*, 1, no. 86, 520–1.

⁵¹ Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, no. 65.

hints at continued friction between the king and the see of Worcester.⁵² These 20 hides consisted of 5 in *Wearsetfelda*, 5 at Cofton Hackett, 5 at Rednal in King's Norton, 2 at Wast Hills and Hopwood in Worcestershire and 3 at *Wihthlafesfeld* and they are almost certainly the same 20 hides said to have been bestowed on Bredon in 780 (S 117).⁵³ However, apart from S 117 which is certainly spurious, there is no evidence for a connection with Bredon of these estates centred around Alvechurch in the northeast of the diocese. The lease to Berhtwulf survives only in the LW and immediately following is a copy of a lease by Berhtwulf of the same land for five lives to his *minister* Egbert (S 199).⁵⁴ The extent of the lease is unusual and we perhaps have here an attempt by Berhtwulf to regularize a gift he had made of land misappropriated from Worcester. A dispute over the ultimate reversion of this lease probably explains the presence in the LW of a spurious Æthelstan charter dated 934 (S 428) granting the same to St Mary's, Worcester.⁵⁵ The entry of S 428 immediately after the two leases, near the beginning of the LW, suggests that it was forged within a narrow time span between 983 (when the building of St Mary's, Worcester, was completed) and 996. By 1086, Wast Hills and Cofton Hackett together with *Tonge* and *Ovretone* were attached as berewicks to the monks' manor of Alvechurch and assessed collectively at 13 hides.⁵⁶ Rednal was lost some time prior to 1066 when it was included in the assessment of Earl Edwin's 30-hide manor of Bromsgrove, and was in the hands of the king by 1086.⁵⁷ Rednal's absence from the *Codicellus* suggests that it was alienated at a very early date and certainly before the settlement of Alvechurch and its outliers on the monks.⁵⁸

It will be noted that virtually all the estates, except the 12 hides *aet Breodune* and Bredon's Norton listed in S 116 and 117 were claimed by King Berhtwulf in the 840s. As far as the estates of Cutsdean and Washbourne are concerned, it is certainly feasible that Berhtwulf claimed these by right of inheritance. However, there is no evidence, other than S 117, to link the land centred on Alvechurch with Bredon. It may be the continual reference to 12 hides, at the synod of Brentford in 781 and as the subject of Allhun's leasing arrangements in 844, that show that Worcester only retained control of the monastery buildings and its demesne land. This would certainly explain the lack of a Worcester/Bredon reference to Evenlode after 788 until the late tenth century and the attempts by King Berhtwulf to obtain estates later equated with loanland attached to Bredon. It is worth noting that the LW scribe only listed leases issued by St Oswald as 'belonging to Bredon' and these referred to Redmarley (D'Abitot), (Little) Washbourne and Teddington and Alstone, all in Gloucestershire.⁵⁹

In relation to Berhtwulf's despoliation, we must bear in mind that we are only reading Worcester's version of events. Any claim of kinship rights to the estates listed in S 192, that is Stoulton, Washbourne, Kemerton, *Tateringctun* and Cutsdean, would more than likely have been suppressed. It will be noted that the amount

⁵² S 1272.

⁵³ S 1272; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, fos 3–4. See Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 94–7.

⁵⁴ S 199.

⁵⁵ S 428; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, 4v–6r.

⁵⁶ GDB, 174: *DB Worcs*, 2,84; Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, 139.

⁵⁷ GDB, 172: *DB Worcs*, 1,1a.

⁵⁸ Bromsgrove, which may have included the later settlement of Rednal, was acquired by the church of Worcester from Æthelric, son of Æthelmund in 804 (S 1187). The date of its alienation before 1066 is not known.

⁵⁹ S 1306, 1326, 1336, 1338 and 1363.

involved in each case was not specified and only Cutsdean and Washbourne were traditionally associated with Bredon. A source of contention between the rulers of Mercia and the bishops of Worcester must have been the question of who had ultimate control of the resources of a failing royal minster as Bredon clearly was by the 840s.

Whatever the position *vis-à-vis* Bredon's endowment, the failure by King Offa to establish a dynasty clearly impacted on the fortunes of his family foundation. After the death of Abbot Eanmund in the early 840s, it fell to the bishop of Worcester to protect the monastery, if not from royal claims, then certainly from rapacious laymen. We can see evidence of this in the wording of a two-life lease (S 1273) by Bishop Allhun of 11 *cassati* at *Sture* (Aderminster in Worcestershire?) and Cutsdean to Æthelwulf *dux* and his wife Wulfthryth in 855.⁶⁰ The inclusion of a rather tortuous clause, worth quoting here, suggests that Æthelwulf and his supporters had been at odds with Worcester: 'Æthelwulf should with right friendship and good zeal without fraud so guard the liberties of that church in Worcester and of the monasteries which belong to it as long as his life shall last, and that he should never either destroy or diminish it nor conspire [against it] with any other younger men of his'.⁶¹ This surely implies that he and his supporters had caused grief in the past. The gift appears to have done the trick as there is no record of further trouble from Æthelwulf.

The witness lists of Mercian charters show that Æthelwulf was active throughout the second half the ninth century and was closely connected with Worcester.⁶² The lease of *Sture* and Cutsdean marks his first appearance in the documentary records and he witnesses two grants by King Burgred in favour of the church of Worcester dated 857 and 866.⁶³ That Æthelwulf was a young man in 855 can be inferred from his lease made conditional on his refraining from attacking Worcester's possessions 'with any younger men of his'. Certainly this would have been the case if he was the Æthelwulf who witnessed Bishop Werferth's lease to Werwulf, *presbyter*, forty-four years later in 899.⁶⁴

To sum up, the tradition preserved at Worcester by the end of the tenth century was that Bredon minster was founded in 716 x 717 by Eanwulf, a kinsman of Æthelbald of Mercia. Æthelbald's grandson, Offa, was said to have endowed it with a further 55 hides located in the south and north-eastern parts of the Worcester diocese. Whether or not Bredon ever in fact possessed much more than 12 hides, it is clear that there was a community headed by an abbot until at least 840. The original endowment probably included modern day Bredon, Bredon's Norton and Bredon's Hardwick. The synod of Brentford suggests that Bredon was in the possession of the bishop of Worcester by 781. The failure of the community at Bredon after the death of its last, and only known, abbot, Eanmund, sometime between 840 and 844, resulted in absorption of the minster along with its landholdings within the Worcester estate. By 855 we see the first leasing of land, later associated with

⁶⁰ S 1273.

⁶¹ S 1273, translated by C. G. O. Bridgeman in 'Staffordshire Pre-Conquest Charters', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society, 1916, 75–6 (no. 2).

⁶² S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, c. 670–1066, Cambridge 1995, Table XVII (6).

⁶³ S 208, 212. He is possibly also the Æthelwulf named as a witness in a forged Abingdon charter purporting to be a gift of land at Lockinge, Berks, by Æthelswith, queen of Mercia, to Cuthwulf, *minister*, in 868.

⁶⁴ S 1279. He is probably the Æthelwulf named as the recipient in a now lost spurious charter of Ealdorman Æthelred and Æthelflæd of 5 hides at Himbledon, Worcs, in 884 (S 219).

Bredon manor, located at Cutsdean. At this point we now move to the second stage of Bredon's life – as an episcopal manor.

It is clear that whatever the nature of religious life remaining at Bredon, its transformation into an episcopal manor, apparent in 1086, was already in hand by the late tenth or early eleventh century. That the collegiate nature of the church was defunct seems likely given the intensive leasehold activity initiated by St Oswald, much of which was still evident in 1086. The long series of leases issued by St Oswald is evidence of the large-scale economic reorganization of the Worcester *mensa* begun during his time at Worcester.⁶⁵ The creation of Oswaldslow as embodied in *Altitonantis* has been much debated and need not detain us here, save only insofar as it relates to the history of Bredon.⁶⁶ Leaving aside the monks' claims, it is generally accepted that *Altitonantis* embodies some historical fact. According to *Altitonantis*, one of the three hundreds that formed Oswaldslow was that of *Winburgetreow* belonging to the bishop and containing the manors of Bredon, Blockley and Tredington. The implication therefore is that at some time between the mid-ninth century and the reign of King Edgar (959–975) the minster of Bredon had become an episcopal vill. Reorganization of the West Midlands on a larger scale is evident in the history of the short-lived shire of Winchcombe during the early years of the eleventh century of which *Winburgetreow*, and hence Bredon, formed a part.⁶⁷ It is unfortunate that while the compilers of the LW attempted to copy documents in geographical order under shire headings, there is no specific listing of hundreds to corroborate or disprove the *Altitonantis* version of the composition of the triple hundred of Oswaldslow.

The compilation of the LW soon after 996, or at least its annotation by Archbishop Wulfstan (1002–1016), indicates that by 1016 there were at least five episcopal manors in place with estates attached to them. The manors named are Kempsey, Bredon, Tredington, Ripple and Stratford, and for all but Tredington documentary evidence preserved at Worcester shows that they began life as *monasteria* in the late seventh or early eighth century.⁶⁸ However, Wulfstan's comments do not tell the whole story. Several of St Oswald's leases show that other administrative centres were in the early stages of formation. The fragmentation of the large *Wican* estate, another religious foundation of the eighth century, is one such example.⁶⁹ In 963 St Oswald gave his *minister* Ælfric 'a certain small portion of an estate ... namely 1 *mansa* in the place which is called by the inhabitants by the famous name of Cotheridge'.⁷⁰ Included in the grant was the provision that Ælfric could take 'every year 12 fother of wood in my wood without payment' and the boundary clause refers to the *biscope's gemaere*. In 1086, Cotheridge was still a one-hide estate and part of the bishop's manor of Wick (Episcopi) in the hands of Osbern fitzRichard who had inherited it from his father, Richard, who had 'held it by such service as the bishop willed'.⁷¹

⁶⁵ See Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, for a definitive study of BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, fos 1–118v, and King, 'Tenants of St Oswald', for discussion of St Oswald's leases.

⁶⁶ S 731. See P. Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: an "Immunity"?' in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, 117–28.

⁶⁷ J. Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, Woodbridge 1990, 91–102 and particularly the tables and maps on pages 92–3.

⁶⁸ The early history of these foundations is discussed in Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England*.

⁶⁹ S 142.

⁷⁰ S 1303; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1956, no. XXXV.

⁷¹ GDB, 172v: *DB Wores*, 2, 14.

The leases reveal two instances where a manor is specifically named. In 977, Oswald granted his *cniht* Æthelwold land at Lower Wolverton, Worcs, 'consisting of 2 hides less 60 acres, which the archbishop has attached as wheat-growing land to his manor at Kempsey'.⁷² After the expiry of the third life, the estate was reissued to Æthelric who held in the time of King William and 'paid from them all the customary revenue dues, as his predecessors had, except for rural work, on the terms he could beg from the reeve'.⁷³ By 1086, Lower Wolverton, still attached to Kempsey, was held by Roger de Lacy and sublet to Aiulf.⁷⁴ It is possible, given the link with Bishop Allhun back in 844, that Kempsey was the first of these reorganized minster-manors. It was the closest episcopal manor to Worcester and is the first manor listed in the Domesday assessment of Worcester's lands, but in the absence of any further documentary evidence this conclusion remains speculative.

The second reference is to Blockley in Gloucestershire which in 1086 was assessed at 38 hides but was not specifically assigned land in the LW.⁷⁵ As an outlying Oswaldslow manor, it is perhaps not surprising that the administrative organization here shows signs of developing later than the other episcopal manors. In 978 Oswald stipulates that the tenant of 2 hides at Blackwell in Tredington, Warwickshire, must pay 6 trusses of fodder every year to Blockley.⁷⁶ At some date thereafter, presumably after expiration of the third life, Blackwell was transferred to Tredington and by 1086 was assigned to the sustenance of the monks.⁷⁷ It is worth noting that in 1086, the bishop held most of Blockley's land in demesne with only 12½ hides utilized as leasehold units, many of which owe their origin to St Oswald.⁷⁸ One such case was Evenlode, which was originally leased as an 8-hide estate to Ridda *minister* in the 770s by Offa of Mercia with ultimate reversion to Bredon. The Worcester archive is silent as the later history of Evenlode until the tenth century. Francesca Tinti notes that Ridda's lease appears in the LW as the last of four documents concerning Blockley.⁷⁹ Apart from the geographical sequencing, the placing of the Evenlode lease at this point may also refer to its recent attachment to Blockley as later reflected in 1086. The fact that the LW was being compiled during a period of reorganization would also account for the appearance of Oswald's lease of 969 granting 8 hides at Evenlode to Ealhstan in the last section of the LW with other charters that appear unconnected.⁸⁰ Either these documents were copied as an afterthought or because their original placement was uncertain given the undoubted territorial changes that must have been in hand between c. 1000 and 1016, not least because of the suppression of Winchcombeshire of which Blockley and Bredon had formed a part.⁸¹ The absence of any substantive link between Evenlode and Bredon may be explained by the fact that by the time Ridda's original lease expired, Bredon was already subsumed within the Worcester *mensa*.

In attempting to trace the outliers of Bredon manor as appears in 1086, it would be helpful if we could discern the early stages of its administrative organization by

⁷² S 1332, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. LV.

⁷³ GDB, 172v: *DB Worcs*, 2,4. For discussion of Æthelric, see Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester'.

⁷⁴ GDB, 172v: *DB Worcs*, 2,4.

⁷⁵ GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2,38.

⁷⁶ BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, f. 90–90r–v; S 1337.

⁷⁷ GDB, 173v: *DB Worcs*, 2,46.

⁷⁸ GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2,38.

⁷⁹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 101.

⁸⁰ S 1325. For the organization of the LW, see Table 8 in Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 122–3.

⁸¹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 184–5.

comparing the tenth-century leases assigned to Bredon in the LW with those evident in 1086. Five leases are noted as 'belonging to Bredon' in the LW concerning 2 hides at Redmarley,⁸² an unspecified amount of land at Teddington and Alstone,⁸³ 3 hides at (Little) Washbourne⁸⁴ and 2 hides at Moreton (in Bredon).⁸⁵ The lack of evidence for all but (Little) Washbourne and Teddington before the tenth century suggests that they owe their creation as leasehold units to St Oswald. The two parcels of land at Redmarley, a 'clearing by the reed-mere', assessed at 1 hide apiece, were leased by St Oswald in 963 and 978 to his thegns Eadmaer and Æthel-mund respectively.⁸⁶ The later appellation of 'D'Abitot' clearly denotes ownership by Urse D'Abitot and his descendants after 1066. Urse was by far the largest tenant of Bredon manor, holding some 16 hides, of which 7 were located at Redmarley. Of these 7 hides, Urse had sublet 2 hides to William which may equate to the 2 hides originally leased by St Oswald.⁸⁷

The lease of 2 hides at Moreton for three lives to the brothers Beornheah and Byrhstan in 990 for the payment of £4 is the earliest reference we have for this settlement.⁸⁸ Byrhstan was also the tenant of 1½ hides at nearby Bredon's Norton discussed above. Clearly after the third life Moreton returned to the bishop's demesne as it is not identified in 1086 but by the middle of the twelfth century another lease had been granted and Moreton was held by Robert fitzRichard.⁸⁹

Teddington is first recorded as a 5-hide estate granted by Offa to Bredon in 780, along with 10 at Little Washbourne, 10 at Bredon's Norton and 10 at Cutsdean which has been discussed above. Nothing more is known of Teddington until 968 when St Oswald granted an unspecified amount of land at Teddington and Alstone to his brother.⁹⁰ That the assessment was 3 hides is assumed from a late eleventh-century copy of a charter by Bishop Aldred settling Teddington and Alstone on the cathedral clergy.⁹¹ By 1086 reference to Alstone disappears and instead 3 hides at Teddington and 1 hide at Mitton are assigned to the sustenance of the monks', valued at £4, and included in Bredon's assessment of 35 hides.⁹²

The final estate that is described as belonging to Bredon in the LW is (Little) Washbourne, and its early history mirrors that of Teddington. It was one of several estates reclaimed by Worcester from Berhtwulf in the ninth century. Thereafter, the records are silent until the lease by St Oswald to the monk Wynsige in 977.⁹³ The tenancy of this lease has been much discussed and I have suggested elsewhere that the second life, Wulfwynne, may have been a scribal error for Wulfwine *clericus* a member of the Worcester clergy.⁹⁴ TRE Little Washbourne was held by Almaer

⁸² S 1306, 1338; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, f. 83r-v.

⁸³ S 1326.

⁸⁴ S 1336; BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, f. 82v.

⁸⁵ S 1363; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. LXIV.

⁸⁶ A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and F. T. S. Houghton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, English Place-Name Society 4, 1927, 156; S 1306, 1338.

⁸⁷ GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2, 25.

⁸⁸ For reference to a forged Æthelstan charter seen by William Dugdale, see Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 109.

⁸⁹ *Red Book of Worcester*, 109.

⁹⁰ S 1326. For discussion of this charter, see King, 'Tenants of St Oswald'.

⁹¹ S 1408; *Heming*, 396-98.

⁹² GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2, 22.

⁹³ S 1336; London, BL Cot.Tib.A.xiii, f. 82v.

⁹⁴ King, 'Tenants of St Oswald', 112-13.

until he became a monk at Worcester and the bishop received his land.⁹⁵ By 1086 the same 3 hides were in the hands of Urse the sheriff and continued to be held on lease thereafter.⁹⁶

There are also four other leases, associated with Bredon in 1086 that are not described as belonging to Bredon in the LW. Two concern Cutsdean and the other two relate to Bredon's Norton and Mitton (in Bredon).⁹⁷ Whether we can say that the lack of annotation argues for a post-1016 attachment to Bredon is a moot point. The leases for Cutsdean and Bredon's Norton appear in the same section of the LW but not adjacent to the five 'Bredon' documents.⁹⁸ As Mitton is named as the second of two estates in a lease by Oswald to his brother, Æthelstan, in c. 991, this would explain the absence of Mitton from the Bredon group.⁹⁹ Mitton is another settlement for which we have no evidence before the tenth century, presumably because it was always in demesne. In 1086 Mitton was assessed at 1 hide and was assigned to the sustenance of the monks along with 3 hides at Teddington.

Bredon's Norton has been discussed at length above, and so the final estate to mention here is Cutsdean. Cutsdean or *Codeswellan*, is another settlement traditionally associated with Bredon from 780 (S 116). By 840, Cutsdean was certainly in the hands of Worcester as witnessed by Bishop Heahberht's successful recovery of the estate from King Berhtwulf (S 192) and its subsequent lease, along with *Sture*, to Æthelwulf *dux* and his wife Wulfthryth in 855 (S 1273), discussed above. Æthelwulf's lease was for 11 hides but we do not know how it was apportioned. Interestingly, Æthelwulf had witnessed the restitution of Cutsdean to Worcester in 840. No more is known of Cutsdean until a lease of 5 hides was issued by St Oswald in c. 974 and 987 to Wulfheah and Æthelmund respectively, which I have suggested elsewhere denotes a kinship link.¹⁰⁰ Æthelmund is also named as a tenant of one of two smallholdings at Redmarley referred to in the LW as belonging to Bredon which could indicate that Cutsdean was attached to Bredon by 987. St Oswald sought to ensure that Cutsdean was not seen as a permanent alienation by stipulating that the third life of Æthelmund's lease should be a monk of Worcester. It is worth noting that the eventual successor to both leases granted to Æthelmund was Godwine, presumably a monk at Worcester. Certainly, Cutsdean was back in the hands of the bishop by 1033 x 1038 when a smaller estate of 2 hides was leased by Bishop Beorhtheah to Dodda and later recovered from his son by Archbishop Ealdred TRW.¹⁰¹ In 1086, these 2 hides were in the hands of Æthelric the archdeacon and by the mid twelfth century they were in the possession of the prior of Worcester.¹⁰² Like Bredon's Norton, the tenurial history of Cutsdean was remarkably consistent and can be traced over two hundred years.

In 1086 Bredon was assessed at 35 hides with just under a third, i.e. 10 hides, held in demesne and a further 4 hides assigned to the sustenance of the monks of

⁹⁵ GDB 173.

⁹⁶ *Red Book of Worcester*, 109.

⁹⁷ Cutsdean (S 1325, 1353; *Heming*, 165–7), Bredon's Norton (S 1359; *Heming*, 169–70), Mitton (S 1308).

⁹⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 122–3.

⁹⁹ S 1308; Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 16, 17, 63–4.

¹⁰⁰ S 35, S 1353, and BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii, 78–9, respectively. See also King, 'Tenants of St Oswald', 104–5.

¹⁰¹ GDB, 173; *DB Worcs*, 2, 24. Dodda had also held another Bredon estate at Bredon's Norton. See above p. 83.

¹⁰² *Red Book of Worcester*, 109.

Worcester. A cursory glance at the ratio of land held in demesne to that utilized as loanland for all the bishop's manors reveals that the land management at Bredon was not exceptional. In each case, the estates set aside for tenants owed much to the arrangements put in place by St Oswald. This is especially true in the case of Bredon, as shown in Table 1 below. In 1086 the largest leaseholder was Urse D'Abitot, sheriff of Worcester, with 16 hides, which amounted to nearly two thirds of Bredon's assessment. Overall, Urse was in possession of approximately 25 hides belonging to the bishopric of Worcester, of which Bredon outliers formed the largest portion.

Table 1 Domesday tenancies in 1086 and the late tenth century

Land	1066 Tenant	1086 Tenant	Hidage	
			1086	961 x 991
<i>Demesne land</i>			10	
Teddington & Alstone ¹⁰³	<i>de victu monachorum</i>	<i>de victu monachorum</i>	3	3
Mitton	<i>de victu monachorum</i>	<i>de victu monachorum</i>	1	2
Cutsdean	Dodda's son	Æthelric the archdeacon	2	5
Redmarley	Azor & Godwine	Urse ¹⁰⁴	7	2
Pendock	Godwine	Urse	2	2
(Little)	Aelmer	Urse	3	3
Washbourne				
Westmancote	Bricwin	Urse	4	
Bredon's Norton	Leofwine	Durand	2	1.5
Bushley	Brictric son of Algar	The King	1	

As stated above, the monks of Worcester held 4 hides for their supplies. Teddington along with Alstone, assessed at 3 hides, had been settled upon them by Bishop Aldred sometime between 1052 and 1056 along with a messuage in Worcester.¹⁰⁵ Teddington and Alstone were first linked together and granted by St Oswald to his brother by lease dated 969. The copy preserved in the LW does not identify the amount of land involved. Alstone, which lies adjacent to Teddington, is not referred to in 1086 but was probably included within the 3-hide assessment. We do not know when Mitton was assigned to the monks but Bishop Aldred is most likely to have been responsible.¹⁰⁶ The lack of documentary evidence clearly precipitated the creation of a forged King Berhtwulf charter dated 841 in which the king is said to have granted 1 *mansa* at Mitton to bishop Heahberht for the benefit of the monks.¹⁰⁷ The first reliable reference to Mitton appears in the lease of c. 991 by St Oswald to another brother, Æthelstan, of 2 hides at Southam Delabere in Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, and 2 hides at Mitton.¹⁰⁸ By 1086 the hidage had been reduced by half and was held directly by the monks.

¹⁰³ An unspecified amount of land was granted at Teddington and Alstone by St Oswald to his brother in 969 (S 1326). These estates were settled on the monks by Bishop Aldred in the 1050s (S 1408; *Heming* 396–98). Alstone is not referred to separately in the Bredon entry.

¹⁰⁴ Two hides were sublet to William.

¹⁰⁵ S 1408; *Heming*, 396–8.

¹⁰⁶ For Aldred's activities at Worcester, see V. King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester Years', *ANS* 18, 1995, 124–37.

¹⁰⁷ S 195.

¹⁰⁸ S 130.

Table 1 reveals that in all but two instances the tenurial history of the constituent elements of the manor of Bredon can be traced back to the tenth century. The exceptions are Westmancote and Bushley, assessed at 4 hides and 1 hide respectively, and in each case Domesday Book provides our first documentary reference. Before 1066, Brictric son of Alfgar held 1 hide at Bushley of the bishop's manor of Bredon, but when his lands became forfeit to the king no distinction was made between manors he had held in his own right and those held on lease. Brictric was also the tenant of 1 hide at Barley attached to the bishop's manor of Ripple, but by 1086 this was also in the king's hands.¹⁰⁹ The location of Westmancote, a mile equidistant from Bredon's Norton to the north and Bredon village to the southwest, suggests that it was hived off from the original Bredon endowment in the early eleventh century. There is one lease of 2 hides at Moreton in Bredon issued by St Oswald to the brothers Beornheah and Byrstan in 990 that does not appear to have been reissued after the expiration of the third life.¹¹⁰ The retention of Moreton by the bishop of Worcester would go some way to identify the 10 hides of Bredon manor held in demesne in 1086.¹¹¹ I have suggested above that these 10 hides consisted of the modern-day parishes of Bredon and Bredon's Norton which in turn formed the nucleus of the original 12 hide endowment of Bredon minster.

To conclude, it is remarkable that we are still lacking a modern edition of the only substantive Anglo-Saxon cartulary in existence.¹¹² Research into the early history of Bredon reveals that there is much that can be gained through careful examination of documents preserved in the LW, many of which have tended to be accepted at face value. The compilation of the LW occurred during a period of major territorial changes in the West Midlands, not least with the creation and then suppression of the county of Winchcombeshire, of which Bredon formed a part. Estates traditionally associated with Bredon minster, as outlined above, should be seen as part of the process of administrative reorganisation of the Worcester *mensa* around episcopal manors that took place in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries initiated by St Oswald. Comparison of the leases copied into the LW with the Domesday Book entries reveal that the majority of Worcester's tenancies in 1086 were created by St Oswald. The spurious nature of the early charters preserved in the Worcester archive show that the foundation of Bredon minster by Eanwulf and its subsequent endowment by Offa of Mercia reflects a tradition preserved at Worcester in the late tenth century at the very moment of its metamorphosis into an episcopal manor. Attempts to backdate the history of Bredon further must at best remain speculative.

¹⁰⁹ GDB, 173: *DB Worcs*, 2,37.

¹¹⁰ S 1363. Incidentally, Byrstan was also the recipient of Bredon's Norton.

¹¹¹ However, these two hides were again leased out in the early twelfth century: *Red Book of Worcester*, 108.

¹¹² An edition has been promised for over thirty years. A digital version of BL Cotton Tib. A.xiii is now planned by Francesca Tinti and Stephen Baxter: Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 88, n.26.

EADULFINGTUN, EDMONTON, AND THEIR CONTEXTS

Pamela Taylor

Ann's exemplary qualities as an historian include her use of individual detail to construct or correct a wider picture – her simultaneous focus on both trees and wood – and her range across terrains as well as sources. She is equally at home in Wessex and Mercia and, despite a strong preference for woods, has lived in now deforested parts of both Middlesex and Essex. I hope that this paper, which first discusses the exact location of *Eadulfingtun* and then examines its geographical and administrative contexts, is a fitting tribute.

The existence around 1000 of somewhere called *Eadulfingtun* (with minor variant spellings) has long been well known. The will of Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury includes a request that the king confirm to St Albans the estate at Kingsbury (*Cyngesbyrig*) in exchange for possession of *Eadulfingtune*.¹ Ælfric died on 16 November 1005 and very soon afterwards, apparently before the year's end on 31 December, Leofric, who was Ælfric's brother, executor, and successor as abbot of St Albans, obtained from King Æthelred a diploma which, in granting 1 hide (*cassata*) at Flamstead (Herts) and 5 at St Albans at the ruined *castellum* known as Verulamium or *Wætlingaceaster*, honoured Ælfric's request.² Despite the usual warnings about the diploma's immunity clause, its key sections too are considered genuine and they provide some detailed back history. Abbot Leofric had given King Æthelred 200 pounds of gold and silver 'when we paid that heavy tribute to the Danes' and received in return as surety (*pro fenore*) 'the vill called *Eadulfinctun*, having 55 hides, and these 6 *mansae*' (*mansa*, *cassata* and hide are interchangeable terms). *Eadulfinctun* is now being returned and the other 6 *mansae* confirmed. *Eadulfingtun*'s initial context is obviously interesting *per se*, showing as it does one of the mechanisms by which Æthelred had been raising the danegelds.

Both Ælfric's will and the St Albans diploma in Matthew Paris's thirteenth-century transcription have long been known, but neither of them provided any indication of *Eadulfingtun*'s location, and, as Margaret Gelling wrote in 1979, it was

¹ S 1488; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 18; S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* Pt 2, Oxford 2001, no. 133; J. Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, Oxford 2007, 183. For correction of Whitelock's statement that this was Kingsbury in Middlesex, P. Taylor, 'The Early St Albans Endowment and its Chroniclers', *Historical Research* 68, 1995, 119–42 at 125–6. For the location of Kingsbury within the Roman town, R. Niblett and I. Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns: an Assessment of St Albans' Archaeology up to AD 1600*, Oxford 2005, ch. 6. Appendix 2, 'Sources for the Archaeology of St Albans', includes relevant sections from Matthew Paris's *Gesta Abbatum* with English translations, but the book seldom uses non-narrative documentary sources or their commentators.

² '... et quinque ubi noto uocitamine ab olim castellum iam pene dirutum ausonica lingua dicebatur Uerulamium, quod nos uulgariter dicimus [W]ætlingaceaster'. S 912; Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, no. 11; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge 1980, 109. This charter is cited in Niblett and Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns*, 194, but the connection with the Kingsbury transfer is missed.

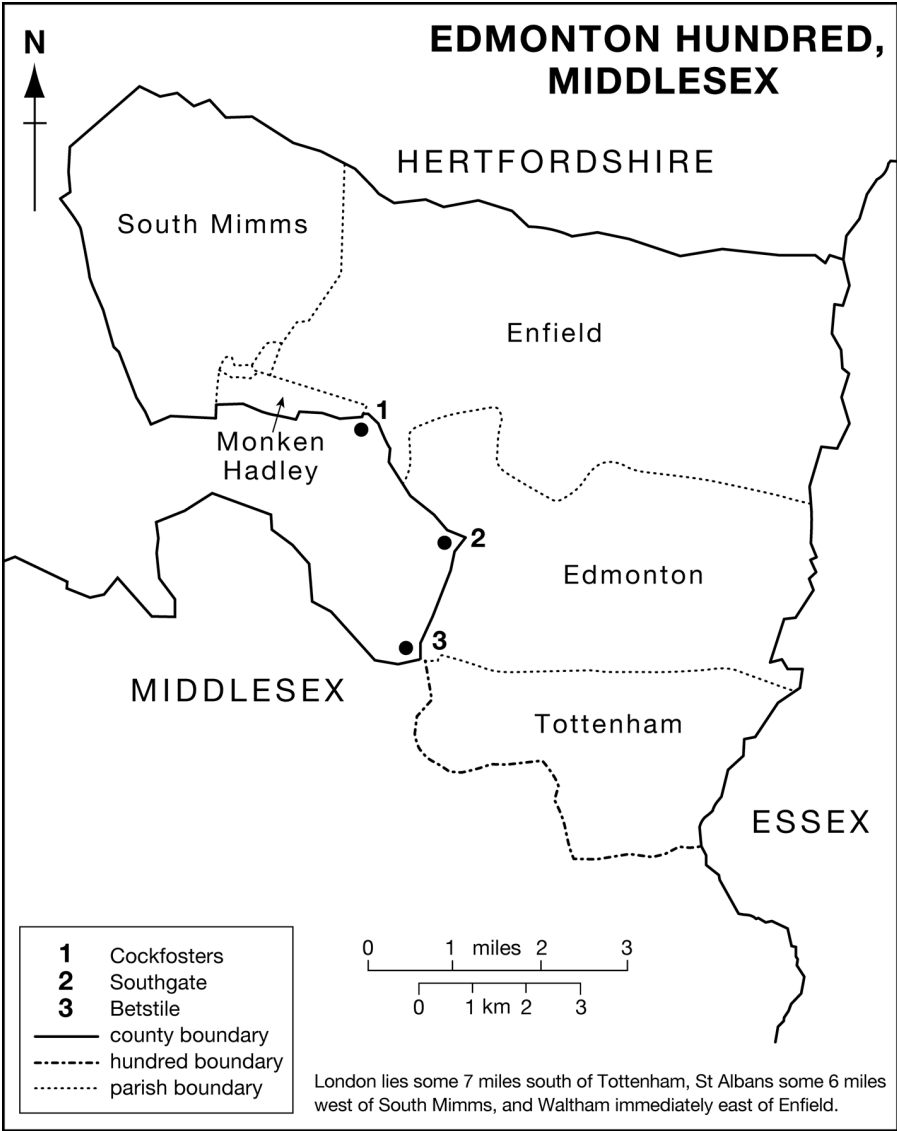


Figure 1: Edmonton Hundred

‘very surprising that an estate of this size has not been identified’.³ Since then, Simon Keynes’ discovery of a seventeenth-century copy of the now vanished twelfth-century cartulary which underlay Matthew Paris’s transcription and included Old English texts and boundary clauses which Paris omitted, has opened up a remarkable amount of new information.⁴ In this case there are three boundary clauses, one for the hide at Flamstead, one for the 5 hides, which are stated to belong to *þære ealden byrig* (the old fort, equivalent to the Latin *castellum* and clearly referring to what was also known as Kingsbury), and a third for a wood that was also attached to the old fort. No hidage is given for the wood, useful confirmation that hidation was fundamentally cadastral, and often initially applied only to arable land.⁵ Analysis of the boundary description has nevertheless shown that the woodland corresponds to what would later become the St Albans manor of Barnet, which was lost to the abbey at the Reformation but survived as a discrete unit whose documentation includes nineteenth-century mapping.⁶ The woodland boundary description includes a stretch running ‘along the *Eadulfington* people’s boundary’. The text of the boundary description is given in the Appendix and the key points are marked on Figure 1.

Before pinning *Eadulfington*’s exact location, a few general points need to be made. Not only was the boundary only for appurtenant woodland but the whole area lies predominantly on heavy clay which remained extremely well wooded into at least the early modern period. Nevertheless the fact that by 1005 (and presumably by the time of the earlier transfer, probably in the 990s) the boundary could be so precisely drawn shows that this was already an entirely parcelled out landscape.⁷ This is significant in itself, since delimitation as well as settlement are usually reckoned to be late in wooded areas, but it also raises an immediate question about the form of such descriptions. Like many others, this one includes both specific points and continuous runs along other boundaries, but since the estate was in fact surrounded continuously by the latter the description could in theory have been written simply in those terms. From the specific points of which we can be absolutely sure (Betstile, Agate, Grendel’s Gate) it looks very much as if the primary reason for mentioning these particular stiles and gates was that they lay at turns of direction and/or changeovers in the adjacent boundary.

The circuit conforms to the standard pattern of starting at roughly 12 on the clock and proceeding clockwise, and it is the initial part that pins where *Eadulfington* must

³ She also noted that the charter was unlikely to be completely fabricated since St Albans did not hold Flamstead in 1086 and there ‘appears to be no mention of *Eadulfinctun* except in the present charter’ (M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, Leicester 1979, no. 176).

⁴ S. Keynes, ‘A Lost Cartulary of St Albans’, *Historical Research* 22, 1993, 257–79.

⁵ Inland (i.e. the lord’s demesne) could also be exempt: see R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, Leicester 1997; eadem, ‘The Topography and Social Structure of a Small Soke in the Middle Ages: the Sokens, Essex’, *Essex Archaeology and History* 27, 1996, 202–13, provides an example of an estate which was also, presumably coincidentally, named after an Eadulf but is no longer: Domesday Book’s *Ældulvesnasa* now comprises Walton on the Naze, Thorpe le Soken and Kirby le Soken.

⁶ Barnet manor map 1817; there is a copy in Barnet Local Studies and Archives. The fullest published account is P. Taylor, ‘A Thousand Years of the Barnet Boundary’, *Hertfordshire Past and Present* 5, Spring 2005, 3–13, which benefited enormously from discussion with Peter Kitson, whose definitive *Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries* is soon to be published. I apologize for some restatement here, but the arguments are inaccurately reflected in Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 188–9, and T. Williamson, *The Origins of Hertfordshire*, 2nd edn, Hertford 2010, 158, 162. The boundary is mapped in my article and in P. Taylor, *Barnet and Hadley Past*, London 2002, 9.

⁷ See below for some of the implications of this.

have been. Beginning at *hæpenes hlæpe*, the line runs along the Enfield people's boundary to the shire stream, along the stream to Æþeleofu's hatch (gate), and thence to Æscbyrht's hale (nook or corner), before running along the *Eadulfingtun* people's boundary to Reodes gate, and thence to Betstile. Of these, the names of Enfield and Betstile have survived. Enfield is the manor and parish immediately north of Edmonton; both were held in 1086 by Geoffrey de Mandeville and TRE by Esgar the Staller, and together with Tottenham, immediately south of Edmonton and in different ownership in both 1066 and 1086, they comprised the whole of Edmonton Hundred (see Figure 1).⁸

The other recognizable name, Betstile, survived into the twentieth century, and the roundabout at the road junction that accurately marks the spot (TQ288296) has been named Betstyle Circus.⁹ This was the Barnet boundary's southernmost tip, the point where the line turns abruptly north-westward, and where in the description the run switches from the *Eadulfingtun* people's boundary to the bishop's boundary. The latter was almost certainly the bishop of London, who held the immediately adjacent area in the late twelfth century when he granted it to the Hospitallers, hence its eventual name of Friern Barnet.¹⁰ In modern naming Edmonton exactly matches *Eadulfingtun* in running solidly south from the southern end of Enfield to Betstile, which is where Barnet manor (though not the current London Borough, which includes Friern) swaps neighbours.

In the boundary description the *scirburna*, Æþeleofu's hatch and Æscbyrht's hale are mentioned between the references to the Enfield and *Eadulfingtun* peoples' boundaries, and Reodes gate between the latter and Betstile, but throughout this stretch no other peoples' boundary run appears, which suggests that the intervening names are marking significant points within them. Mentioning a stream is perhaps obvious; Æþeleofu's hatch is probably the sharp north-eastern corner at Cockfosters, still today on the Barnet/Enfield boundary, and Reodes gate the equally pronounced south-eastern corner at Southgate, which remained in Edmonton until 1881.¹¹ There are some undulations on the long eastern side between these two corners but nothing remarkable, and it is therefore likely that, as the sequencing suggests, Æscbyrht's hale marks the changeover from Enfield to *Eadulfingtun*.

Even if some of the fine detail remains uncertain, it is indisputable that Edmonton fails to appear in the boundary description and that *Eadulfingtun* is situated exactly where Edmonton would have to be. We also know from S 912 that *Eadulfingtun* was assessed at 55 hides, which, whatever the quirks of hidation, has to represent a substantial area. By 1086, when *Eadulfingtun* had vanished from the record, Edmonton was assessed at 35 hides and Enfield at 30, while for completeness Tottenham, the other manor in the hundred (south of Edmonton and therefore away from the Barnet boundary), was only assessed at 5 hides. In other words the figures fail to match. Given the apparent identity of the *Eadulfingtun* people's western boundary and that of Edmonton, the former's large hidage assessment, and the way the latter occupied a complete rectangular block across to the River Lea, the obvious

⁸ GDB, 129v: *DB Middlesex*, 9,8–9; 24,1. On the hundred, see below.

⁹ *The Place-Names of Middlesex*, ed. J. E. Gover et al., English Place-Name Society 18, Cambridge 1942, 68, listed within Edmonton parish.

¹⁰ *Feet of Fines 1196–7*, PRS 20, no. 37; *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, RC, 1837, 16. The bishops of London continued to hold Finchley, immediately west of Friern.

¹¹ One of the two seventeenth-century transcriptions has *seodes* rather than *reodes* gate, but this could not have evolved into Southgate (Margaret Gelling, personal communication). Southgate separated from Edmonton to become its own Urban District in 1881.

guess is that the two were identical and that at some point between 1005 and 1066 the unit underwent both a name change and a hidage reduction. The likelihood of this has been doubted, and it is also possible (although the reverse of helpful with the hidage) that two separate estates, initially Eadwulf's and Eadhelm's, were united after 1005, but neither alteration in an already unitary estate is implausible: similar name changes, perhaps reflecting the choice of a different estate centre, are known elsewhere and beneficial reductions in hidage are commonplace.¹²

It is, however, also possible that at some point between 1005 and 1066, most probably at the point when *Eadulfington* morphed into Edmonton, the boundary with Enfield was adjusted. The modern boundary partly reflects the allocations made when Enfield Chase was disparked in 1779, and the post-Conquest creation of the Chase, which was accounted part of Enfield, will similarly (and irrecoverably) have affected the line.¹³ Although there is no necessary connection with the *Eadulfington*-Edmonton shift, comparison of the Barnet boundary description with Domesday and later evidence certainly suggests a significant rearrangement between 1005 and 1066 of the solid block comprising *Eadulfington*/Edmonton, Enfield, and their attachments of South Mimms and Hadley. I have argued the case elsewhere and will not repeat it here.¹⁴

To identify *Eadulfington* unlocks further levels of interest as this whole area is particularly useful to debates about administrative change and the imposition of West Saxon structures in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Because of the information in the Waltham Chronicle concerning Tovi and his lands, stated to have included Waltham and estates in the vicinity, namely Enfield, Edmonton (Edelmetun), Cheshunt, Mimms and the barony held in the chronicler's time by William de Mandeville, some of this relevance has long been recognized, but linking Edmonton back to *Eadulfington* naturally modifies the picture.¹⁵ Most obviously, any suggestion that Edmonton and Enfield formed part of a tenurial unit at the point when Tovi acquired them, let alone one supporting some sort of office for the defence of London, becomes untenable.¹⁶ Enfield and Edmonton may well have been granted *en bloc* from the royal fisc, presumably directly to Tovi since he witnesses charters from 1018 to 1035, but even if *Eadulfington* included part of the later Enfield, the

¹² Crick's doubts (*Charters of St Albans*, 186), are not securely grounded, not least in the topography: see below. Kitson, *Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries*, forthcoming, thinks it likely that 'Eadwulf owned the north-west and Eadhelm the east'. On comparable name changes, P. Sawyer, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement: the Documentary Evidence', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape*, ed. T. Rowley, British Archaeological Reports 6, 1974, 108–19 at 114–15; M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, Pt 3, English Place-Name Society 51, Cambridge 1976, 822–31.

¹³ The park referred to in Domesday Book was the later Old Park by Enfield Town, not the Chase. *VCH Middlesex*, V, 128, 235–6 provides an account of the Chase.

¹⁴ Taylor, 'A Thousand Years'. I would now soften my overly firm suggestion that Mimms was still in 1005 in Shenley. Since Barnet itself features in its description only as attached woodland, the same rationale could have been applied to South Mimms.

¹⁵ *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, Oxford 1994, 19. The use of the term barony is a twelfth-century anachronism.

¹⁶ Such a unit was proposed by Stephen Doree, *Domesday Book and the Origin of Edmonton Hundred*, Edmonton Historical Society Occasional Paper 48, 1986. For a rebuttal using the Barnet boundary description, P. Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins: Barnet, Finchley and Totteridge', in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill, Woodbridge 1995, 259–79 at 265–6. This is separate from the possibility of a far earlier unit based on Waltham, for which see below.

boundary description shows that it did not cover all of it, so that their histories in 1005 were separate.¹⁷

The Waltham chronicler says that Tovi's son Æthelstan only managed to inherit and therefore pass onto his own son, Esgar, the property related to the stallership, and that these were the lands that were given by the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Mandeville and thus descended to Earl William.¹⁸ This is the only known reference to land attached to the office of staller and it fails to tie with the apparent distinction between the four named estates and the barony; it also has to be reconciled with current suggestions around the insecurity of official tenures, even though estates attached to an office and to its holder are theoretically distinct.¹⁹ It is of course highly questionable how much someone writing after 1177 could actually have known about stallers or the details of the estates, but the chronicler must also have been influenced by his wish to glorify Tovi, Harold and the then current de Mandeville earl.²⁰ It is far from certain that Æthelstan's failure was due to incompetence rather than to his own or his father's involvement in Osgod Clapa's revolt.²¹ The loss of Waltham, which was therefore available to be granted to Harold and thence to the abbey, is duly described, but not the other losses, which included Cheshunt.²² The statement that until Tovi decided to establish a church and college suitable for the cross transported thither from his estate at Montacute (Somerset) Waltham contained only a modest hunting lodge, is also demonstrably wrong: Waltham had earlier been a significant royal centre, and another church lies beneath Tovi's.²³ The Montacute reference is helpful, though, in confirming that Tovi is unlikely to have been particularly Waltham-centred.²⁴ Instead he fits historians' current understanding of the new royal officials of the period, not territorially based but widely

¹⁷ *Waltham Chronicle*, xvi. Two variant copies, the earlier by Matthew Paris, survive from what was probably at base a single list of pre-Conquest St Albans estates and their donors. Both include *Edelme(n) tunam* among Offa's donations, but the later version, which greatly extends his bounty, also includes *Enefeld*. They are printed as a list and variations in Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 229–31, but she has confused her markings for the 'c' and 'd' variations: 'c' only applies to berewics (variant berethu's) and her first 'c' should be the (missing) first 'd' of 'd....d'. This only slightly affects her commentary; for the far more serious mistakes made by Riley in his edition of Paris's version, Taylor, 'The St Albans Endowment', 138–42.

¹⁸ *Waltham Chronicle*, 19.

¹⁹ On the land attachment, A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday: the English Aristocracy 900–1066*, London 2008, 28–9; on insecurity of tenure, S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia. Lordship and Power in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 2007, 12, 77–8, although at 143 he cites this as 'explicit (albeit late) evidence that property could be set aside for royal officials and could pass from one such official to another'; J. Campbell, 'Aspects of Nobility and Mobility in Anglo-Saxon Society', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen. Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman, Woodbridge 2009, 17–31 at 26–8.

²⁰ On his balancing act concerning Harold, *Waltham Chronicle*, xiii–xiv.

²¹ *Waltham Chronicle*, xvii–xviii.

²² *Waltham Chronicle*, xxiii–xxiv, xxxix–xl, 18–19. Williams, *World Before Domesday*, 28–33. On the abbey's lands, see also *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex 1062–1230*, ed. R. Ransford, Woodbridge 1989. If Tovi acquired the whole of Mimms, then North Mimms too was lost, but the Barnet boundary description's evidence of a fully apportioned landscape conforming to later units suggests that the split had been earlier. The Domesday entry for Waltham, which has the estate passing directly from Harold to the bishop of Durham, is particularly flagrant: LDB, 15: *DB Essex*, 7.1.

²³ *Waltham Chronicle*, xv, 16–19; R. M. Huggins, 'The Significance of the Place-Name Wealdham', *Medieval Archaeology* 19, 1975, 198–201; P. J. Huggins and K. N. Bascombe, 'Excavations at Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1985–1991: Three Post-Conquest Churches and Norman Evidence', *Archaeological Journal* 149, 1992, 282–343. On Waltham Hundred, see below.

²⁴ For discussion of Tovi's estates, Williams, *World Before Domesday*, 29–30. The direction of the relic's movement between Montacute and Waltham is questioned in *Waltham Chronicle*, xv.

active on royal business, and endowed with extensive lands spread across many counties outside the Wessex heartlands.²⁵

By 1005 the area that included St Albans, Barnet, Enfield, *Eadulfington*/Edmonton and Waltham had undergone a particularly complex political history. In recent centuries it had been on the shifting frontier between Mercia and Wessex, and during the first Viking period on the unstable border between areas of 'English' and Danish control. Then, in the 'shiring of Mercia', it was split between three counties, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Essex, of which only Hertfordshire was an entirely new creation in the midland pattern, taken primarily, presumably, out of Middlesex. Behind this lies a deeper background, much of which is familiar but needs quick reiteration to bring out the local particularities.

Entities called Essex and Middlesex had long histories. When the diocese of London was founded for the East Saxons in 604, the coterminous kingdom and diocese covered Essex and, west of the Lea (and whatever its exact boundaries at the time), this greater Middlesex.²⁶ The East Saxon kings, though, were never sufficiently powerful to enjoy absolute possession of their territories, including London, whose strong attraction has much to do with the area's instability. By the end of the seventh century overlordship had passed from Kent to Mercia and when the term 'Middlesex' first appears in the early eighth it is very much in the context of new Mercian administrative groupings.²⁷ From then on Middlesex, and therefore London, was fully absorbed into Mercia while the East Saxon kings retained partial authority in Essex, an arrangement that ended in 825 when the West Saxons gained Essex along with Kent, Surrey and Sussex, and the last East Saxon king fled westward.²⁸ The Mercians retained Middlesex but never recovered any of the other territory.

During the first Viking wars Mercia was split in 877 into areas of Danish and Mercian control, although which part initially included London remains uncertain.²⁹ East of the Lea, the Danish East Anglian kingdom extended at least intermittently into northern Essex but never captured the whole shire, and it was this together with the fact that Essex was otherwise in Wessex that led David Dumville to reinterpret the Alfred-Guthrum treaty, associating it with Alfred's success at the Battle

²⁵ *Waltham Chronicle*, xvi–xviii; A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in pre-Conquest England c. 500–c. 1066*, Basingstoke 1999; eadem, *World Before Domesday*, esp. ch. 2, and *The English and the Norman Conquest*; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 77–8; K. Mack, 'The Stallers: Administrative Innovation in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *JMH* 12, 1986, 123–34. For the particularly high turnover of officials under Cnut, eadem, 'Changing Thegns: Cnut's Conquest and the English Aristocracy', *Albion* 16, 1984, 375–87.

²⁶ P. Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment: St Paul's and the English Kingdoms, 604–1087', in *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London 604–2004*, ed. D. Keene, A. Burns, and A. Saint, New Haven and London 2004, 5–16.

²⁷ D. Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett, Leicester 1989, 123–40, esp. 134; revised and footnoted version, idem, *Britons and Saxons in the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1993, ch. 9. This effectively replaces older speculation around a Middle Saxon kingdom.

²⁸ ASC, s.a. 823; B. Yorke, 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons', *ASE* 14, 1985, 1–36; D. Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', in idem, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Woodbridge 1992, 1–27 at 3–5; Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia', 135–7.

²⁹ Against earlier assumptions that London was and remained within the Viking zone, coin production suggests minting there in the names of both Alfred and Ceolwulf of Mercia until the latter's apparent demise in 879 (*Kings, Currency and Alliances. History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville, Woodbridge 1998, *passim*, esp. S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', *ibid.*, 1–45 at 12–19). Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum' cites evidence in favour of the older position.

of Wedmore in 878 rather than his later recapture of London (achieved by 886), and placing Alfred's area of control east of the boundary line (marked in our area by the Lea) and Guthrum's west of it.³⁰ No interpretation is uncontested, but behind all the uncertainties lies important general agreement that fighting was a constant and changes of control frequent: the Alfred-Guthrum line itself can only have been temporary.³¹ Equally, there is no sign except in northern Essex of any prolonged period of Danish settlement, and no sign anywhere of consequent administrative change. Even Dacorum (Danais or Danish) Hundred in Hertfordshire is a mark of transitory rather than permanent influence, and, like all the other such units within the three counties, this became a hundred, not a wapentake.³² Severe disruption apart, Viking influence on the administrative framework can be discounted.

The anti-Viking alliance that tightened the links between Wessex and Mercia probably hastened Mercia's decline through dependent status into full absorption.³³ Although it can be hard to distinguish between a general assumption of dominance and anything more locally specific, it is arguable that both Alfred and Edward the Elder showed particular concern for London and its immediate Mercian hinterland. Alfred seems to have had direct control in southern Mercia following Burgred of Mercia's exile in 874, and while formal recognition of Æthelred of Mercia's submission (879 x 883) was also made in Gloucester and Oxford, it was London that Alfred initially chose to keep under more direct control. He committed the city formally to Æthelred in 886, but was himself responsible in 895 for building twin *burhs* to dislodge the Vikings from their camp on the Lea twenty miles above London.³⁴

The same pattern continued under Edward the Elder. In 903 the Mercian ealdorman Æthelfryth petitioned Edward, if also Æthelred and Æthelflæd who held power over the Mercian people 'under the said king', for replacement charters, including one for 10 hides in Islington – between our area and the city and indubitably part of the lands belonging to London to which Edward 'succeeded' on Æthelred's death in 911.³⁵ There was genuine cooperation in the recovery of the rest of Mercia between Edward on the one hand and Æthelflæd with (while he lived) Æthelred on the other, but although Winchester remained home to the West Saxon kings, the Mercians' main centre was Gloucester not London (whatever the origins of the latter's Alder-

³⁰ Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum'; supporters include A. Williams, 'The Vikings in Essex, 871–917', *Essex Archaeology and History* 27, 1996, 92–101; Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 103–7. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', 31–3, disagrees.

³¹ As well as the above-cited works, see J. Haslam, 'The Location of the *Burh* of Wigingamere – a Reappraisal', in *Names, Places and People: an Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. A. R. Rumble and A. D. Mills, Stamford 1997, 111–30.

³² *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, ed. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, English Place-Name Society 15, Cambridge 1938, xviii–xx, 26; Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 107.

³³ For a detailed account of the stages under King Alfred, Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians'.

³⁴ ASC, s.a. 895. The exact location of the *burhs* and camp is uncertain: Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', 8–9, and sources there cited; R. J. Kiln and C. R. Partridge, *Ware and Hertford. The Story of Two Towns from Birth to Middle Age*, Welwyn Garden City 1994, including Appendix 4 by Richard Wilson.

³⁵ '... predictus dux Eadwardum regem rogavit Æþelredum quoque Æþelfledamque qui tunc principatum potestatemque gentis Merciorum sub predicto rege tenuerunt ...'; S. Keynes, 'A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington', *Historical Research* 66, 1993, 303–16; idem, 'Edward King of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill, London 2001, 40–66 at 43; idem, 'England, 900–1016', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* III, ed. T. Reuter, Cambridge 1999, 456–84 at 463, also cites examples of the Mercian rulers continuing ability to issue charters (but not coinage) in their own right. ASC, s.a. 911.

manbury), and tracing the pattern of military activity is instructive.³⁶ The Mercian rulers did sterling work in an arc across the northern Midlands, but it was Edward who succeeded to London and Oxford and 'all the lands that belonged to them' in 911 and then pushed north across London's hinterland, building twin *burhs* at Hertford in 912 and, among others just beyond our area, Luton (913), Buckingham (914), Bedford (915), and Northampton. Meanwhile the campaign in Essex included *burhs* at Witham (912), Maldon (916) and the submission of the East Anglian Danes at Colchester in 917.³⁷ The next year the Mercian royal line was terminated.³⁸

For both Alfred and Edward military leadership against the Vikings and domination of Mercia *per se* were doubtless important, but London presented an additional factor. Attachment to Winchester notwithstanding, the West Saxon kings apparently recognized London's greater potential, not only economic but, in an extended kingdom, political. The process was probably partly mutual: 'the guardians of ecclesiastical and economic interests in London appear to have been in the process of realigning themselves with Wessex in the 860s, when the western and eastern parts of the extended "West Saxon" kingdom were beginning to coalesce'.³⁹ Later, the escalating decline of the Mercian royal line runs in parallel with the first stages of London's progression towards becoming the English capital.⁴⁰ James Campbell has identified three zones of government by the eleventh century, of which the heartland one of residences and councils comprised Wessex and the areas added before the death of Alfred; Edward the Confessor's Westminster had, of course, been in Mercia.⁴¹

Thanks to a range of studies, many of the ways in which the late Anglo-Saxon state was governed are becoming clearer, as is the length of the development and its often *ad hoc* rather than gloriously teleological nature.⁴² Against this more nuanced background, and with debates around the extent of state power still unresolved, it is obviously more germane than ever to ask 'at each turn of events how a kingdom was conceived, and how its administrative structures were supposed to work' or,

³⁶ For Gloucester, Keynes, 'England, 900–1016', 462. D. Keene, 'New Thoughts on the Royal Palace in Pre-Conquest London', presidential address to the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, February 2000, explored the possibility that Aldermanbury, situated north of St Paul's, refers to 'the enclosure of the most singular alderman in London's history, Ealdorman Æthelred himself'. Down on the Thames, Queenhithe was originally Æthelred's hythe. I am grateful to Professor Keene for a copy of his paper and for discussion.

³⁷ Details of the Mercian rulers' activities are mostly confined to the Mercian Register, published in parallel in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker, London 1961, 61–7; see also Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum'; Haslam, 'The Location of the *Burh* of Wicingamere'.

³⁸ Despite later attempts at resuscitation: Keynes, 'England 900–1016', 462, 466–8, 477–9.

³⁹ Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', 35.

⁴⁰ On London and the Thames, Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', 45, 61. If Northumbria had remained a major kingdom the outcome might have been different: J. Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement', in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. A. Grant and K. J. Stringer, London 1995, 31–47 at 46.

⁴¹ Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England', 43–5. In citing Repton, Tamworth, and the city of London to stress the West Saxon kings' avoidance of Mercian centres, Campbell overlooks the continuing use of Gloucester. See also Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', 45, 58–9.

⁴² Part of Campbell's contribution is immediately visible in his papers collected in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, London 1986, and *The Anglo-Saxon State*, London 2000; similarly for Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, I Legislation and its Limits*, Oxford 1999; for Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred*; 'King Alfred and the Mercians'; 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons'; 'England 900–1016'; and for Ann Williams, *Kingship and Government*. See also Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*; R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, Cambridge 1991.

relatedly, 'how power was actually mediated'.⁴³ Despite building on earlier work, new understandings that focus on experimentation with different offices and, until the emergence of sheriffs, officeholders' lack of a localized territorial base, do not necessarily connect well with older, hidage-dominated scholarship around shires and hundreds. It is possible that some overly deterministic assumptions are still sometimes slipping through, and although what follows can barely begin on so wide a subject, it seeks to use the narrow area from St Albans (Hertfordshire) through *Eadulfington* (Middlesex) to Waltham (Essex) to question some of the standard generalizations. George Molyneux's article, which persuasively places the key period of development in the later tenth century, appeared too late for its general argument to be incorporated here, but my local conclusions are, I hope, complementary.⁴⁴

It is well known that words definitely indicating shires in the later sense do not appear until the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's descriptions of the Viking onslaughts of the early eleventh century. In his seminal article on the origins of the Mercian shires, C. S. Taylor perceived a great difference 'north and south of the Thames', with documentary references to every shire division south of the river by 892 but none to any of those in Mercia until after 1000, and concluded that the Chronicle exactly mirrored reality and that the shire system 'between the Thames and the Humber' was an early eleventh-century creation.⁴⁵ In reaching this conclusion he apparently placed Essex among the shires south of the Thames, and certainly overlooked Middlesex.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's new usage (or clarity) on shires applies in the former Wessex as well as Mercia, and more recent analysis has uncovered a longer and less sharply contrasted development. The extension of West Saxon power in the ninth and early tenth centuries, whether direct (as in Essex) or indirect (over Mercia) did not include imposing administrative homogeneity.⁴⁶ More fundamental reorganization began to be rolled out across Mercia in the aftermath of the early tenth-century campaigns but this was a slow process, possibly substantially differently implemented in the east and west Midlands, and pre-existing units were at least partially used.⁴⁷ Our area, south of the Midlands and of longstanding interest

⁴³ The first quote is from Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', 44; the second comes from Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 61, where he notes that only Ann Williams in *Kingship and Government* has considered the question.

⁴⁴ G. Molyneux, 'Why Were Some Tenth-Century English Kings Presented as Rulers of Britain?', *TRHS* 6th Series 21, 2011, 59–91.

⁴⁵ C. S. Taylor, 'The Origins of the Mercian Shires', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 21, 1898, 32–57, reprinted in *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H. P. Finberg, Leicester 1957, 17–51. See also Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', esp. 59, and D. Hill, 'The Shiring of Mercia - Again', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. Higham and Hill, 144–59 at 144. Hill cites Taylor only by the date of the reprint.

⁴⁶ On control and coalescence, Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', 4–6, 35; B. Yorke, 'Edward as Atheling', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. Higham and Hill, 25–39 at 35; Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons'. Continuing Kentish difference is obvious in Domesday; for the still separate production of its charters in the second half of the ninth century, Keynes, 'A Charter', 312; on its military separateness, J. Campbell, 'What is Not Known about the Reign of Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. Higham and Hill, 12–24 at 17.

⁴⁷ J. Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: a Maximum View', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 87, 1994, 39–65, reprinted in idem, *The Anglo-Saxon State*, 1–30; S. Keynes, 'Mercia and Wessex in the Ninth Century', in *Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr, Leicester 2001, 310–28; idem, 'Edward the Elder', esp. 42; H. R. Loyn, 'The Hundred in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', in *British Government and Administration: Studies Presented to S. B. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn, Cardiff 1974, 1–15, reprinted in idem, *Society and Peoples: Studies in*

to both Alfred and Edward, must surely have been within the first phase of reorganization, although the creation of the London Peace Guild in the 930s suggests that experimentation had not yet produced the later pattern.⁴⁸ The eventual, cumulative changes were doubtless intended to bring all local administration up to West Saxon standards, as well as to bind the various parts of the new nation together, but any expectations of rigid homogeneity or once and for all change would be as misplaced for the actual units of shires and hundreds as for their various functions.⁴⁹

Even the boundaries of the entirely new shires were mutable. Hertfordshire's appear to have been modified on the north and west by 1066.⁵⁰ Within our area, where the 1005 reference to the *scirburna* probably shows the Middlesex-Hertfordshire boundary in place, there are some persistently unresolved problems around its relationship with that of the diocese of London.⁵¹ The county's southern boundary was mostly also the diocese's northern one, except that the latter turned northward up what was clearly an old line, partly involving Ermine Street, somewhat west of the Lea. This meant that West Hertfordshire, by far the majority of the county (and including St Albans), was within the diocese of Lincoln, successor to the diocese originally created in the late seventh century for the groups newly designated Middle Angles and long centred at Dorchester on Thames, while East Hertfordshire lay with Essex and the diminished Middlesex in the diocese of London.⁵²

When or why this restriction of the London diocese occurred remains unclear: Offa, king of the East Saxons, granted land to his bishop in Hemel Hempstead, west of St Albans, at the start of the eighth century, and it is difficult to see why the Mercian reorganization that was occurring at much the same time, and probably first introduced the word Middlesex, would have included moving designated Saxons across to the new Anglian diocese. Since the area we know as Middlesex stayed within the diocese alongside Essex, it cannot have had anything to do with separating the more from the less fully absorbed parts of the East Saxon kingdom.⁵³ The old line that in Hertfordshire formed the diocesan boundary can also be traced southward, but it runs through, rather than along the edge of, Enfield and

the History of England and Wales c. 600–1200, London 1992, 111–34; S. Bassett, 'The Administrative Landscape of the Diocese of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester: his Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt, Leicester 1995, 148–73, provides a relevant case-study.

⁴⁸ P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, and M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1992, both (understandably) ignore southern Mercia. VI Æthelstan, in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols, Halle 1903–26, text I, 172–83, commentary III, 115–23; Loyn, 'The Hundred', 5–6; Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins', 277–8.

⁴⁹ L. Marten, 'The Shiring of East Anglia', *Historical Research* 81, 2008, 1–27, argues that this event occurred far later than previously thought. On the unique East Anglian leets and hundreds, J. Campbell, 'Hundreds and Leets: a Survey with Suggestions', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, Woodbridge 2005, 153–67.

⁵⁰ F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Hertfordshire Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, London 1991, 37–46 at 42–3; idem, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Bedfordshire Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, London 1991, 54–64 at 58.

⁵¹ Kitson, *Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries*, thinks that the uninflected *scir* probably means 'shire' rather than 'bright', and there is a branch of the Pymmes Brook in the right place.

⁵² D. P. Kirby, 'The Saxon Bishops of Leicester, Lindsey (Syddensis), and Dorchester', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 41, 1965/6, 1–8; Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia'.

⁵³ Pace Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 96–101. See also W. D. Fenning, 'Elbow Lane', *East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society Transactions* 6, 1915–22, 68–71; Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins'.

Edmonton.⁵⁴ It is also notable that the West Saxons did not extend their division of dioceses beyond Wessex and tackle overlarge Dorchester.⁵⁵

While it is tempting to wonder whether the diocesan shift was connected with the development of St Albans abbey, the abbey's chronology is not encouraging. Julia Crick's initial scepticism about its claim to have been founded and endowed by Offa of Mercia (757–796) has softened considerably, but at even the friendliest estimate pre-Conquest St Albans was neither a front-rank nor, despite the efforts of Abbots Ælfric and Leofric and support of King Æthelred, a particularly well-endowed monastery.⁵⁶ It is another of the Barnet boundary description's gifts that by showing the St Albans woodland which became the manor of Barnet already separated from the bishop [of London]'s Friern Barnet, it finally kills Walsingham's fourteenth-century claim that William the Conqueror had confiscated the abbey's lands 'between Barnet and Londonstone'.⁵⁷ It is still unclear why the abbey was directly under Archbishop Stigand's control just before the Conquest and Lanfranc's thereafter, but this is unlikely to have had anything to do with a transfer between dioceses.⁵⁸

The Barnet boundary description ignores the recurring county cross-overs, but merely by showing that it and its neighbours' territories were already defined and that the definitions correspond to the later ones, it highlights the importance of the relationship of estate to county boundaries. Finding the 'bishop's boundary' at what became Friern Barnet indicates that the division of a unit originally known as Barnet had already occurred. That this area contains in Barnet and Mimms two such name-divisions, both of them consequently also split by the county line, is at least interesting. So too are a couple of names that may suggest early links between St Albans and Barnet. Barnet itself shares its name with Bernard's Heath (previously Barnet Heath or Wood) on the north-east edge of St Albans.⁵⁹ The Barnet boundary also gives us 'wakeling mor', way too far east of Watling Street to be named from it and presumably therefore indicating that the territory of the *Wæclingas* had once extended this far.⁶⁰

Another nearby attachment that affected the county boundary was Totteridge, immediately below the western end of Barnet and attached until the Reformation

⁵⁴ P. Huggins, 'First Steps towards the Minster Parish of London', *London Archaeologist* 6 (11), 1991, 292–300, maps the line, claiming it as the original boundary of Waltham parish; his belief that it separated Enfield and Edmonton from entirely unattached woodland is implausible.

⁵⁵ Cf A. R. Rumble, 'Edward the Elder and the Churches of Winchester and Wessex', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. Higham and Hill, 230–47 at 242–4; Williams, *Kingship and Government*, 55.

⁵⁶ J. Crick, 'Offa, Ælfric and the Refoundation of St Albans', in *Alban and St Albans*, ed. M. Henig and P. Lindley, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 24, 2001, 78–84; eadem, *Charters of St Albans*, Introduction; Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 141–55, gives a topographically informed summary. See also Taylor, 'The Early St Albans Endowment'.

⁵⁷ *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham (A.D. 793–1401) Compilata*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols, RS 28, 1867–9, 1, 49–50. The claim, which is not in Matthew Paris's version, is accepted in, e.g., F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Middlesex and London Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, London 1991, 33–9 at 38, and *VCH Middlesex*, VI, 1980, 15.

⁵⁸ P. Hayward, *Politics of Sanctity*, forthcoming; I am grateful to Dr Hayward for showing me his section on St Albans, and for discussion. Diana Greenway (personal communication) thinks that Henry of Huntingdon would have mentioned any recent transfer.

⁵⁹ *Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, 70, 89. The name only means 'burnt', but it seems unusual to use it twice in such proximity.

⁶⁰ For the location, Taylor, 'A Thousand Years', 8.

to Ely abbey's (more than adequately wooded) estate at Hatfield.⁶¹ Up to its southward contortion round Barnet and Totteridge the county boundary ran fairly straight, utilizing the line of the hilltop trackway that climbs up to the western end of the ridge at Elstree, where it immediately crosses Watling Street, and then continues due east to the end of the ridge at today's Chipping (or High) Barnet.⁶² If such a reasonably strong line could be overruled for the attachments, it is worth speculating whether Stanmore, which abuts the southern side of the line, would have been in Hertfordshire if St Albans had managed to retain it. Stanmore was lost before 1066, but it not only features (with nearby estates to the north) as a 10-hide grant in two of the abbey's forged Offa charters but also appears (in the form *hredes mærcæ æt Sancte Albane*) in a Hendon boundary description of 957.⁶³ It (or part of it) was restored (*reddidi*) to the abbey in 1100 x 1106, but remained in Middlesex.⁶⁴ Similar questions could be posed for Aldenham, immediately north of the line but mostly held by Westminster abbey by 1066; it is in Dacorum Hundred rather than Cashio in Domesday, but even armed with a particularly careful forgery the abbot of Westminster later found himself unable to withdraw entirely from Cashio, and the whole of Aldenham stayed firmly in Hertfordshire.⁶⁵ Alternatively, the county boundary may always have accommodated attachments more readily than full-blown, hidated estates.

There is more work to be done on the St Albans estates in this area, a project unhelpt by the fact that they were subject to rearrangement. A confirmatory charter of Henry II lists Barnet, in its first appearance as a distinct manor, *cum boscis de Suthawe, et Borham, et Huzeheog*; Southaw and Osidge always remained as woods within Barnet but Borehamwood, immediately east of Watling Street and well outside the 1005 boundary, was soon afterwards included in Elstree.⁶⁶ Crick's edition of the abbey's Anglo-Saxon charters means that anyone entering the field can only with gratitude acknowledge the debt, but her topography is unreliable. Contrary to her map, Shenley and *Titeberst* (Theobald Street) are both east of

⁶¹ Totteridge is unlikely to have been granted to Ely before the abbey's refoundation in 970; it too was transferred from Hertfordshire to the new London Borough of Barnet by the 1963 Act that came into force in 1965 (Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins', 259–60). Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 4, wrongly ascribes the transfer to 1974 (the year of county reorganization), but at 159–60 is interesting on Hatfield.

⁶² For the development of the settlements within Barnet, Taylor, *Barnet and Hadley Past*.

⁶³ Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, nos. 1 and 2 and p.14; the boundary is for S 645, see *Place-Names of Middlesex*, 219.

⁶⁴ *VCH Middlesex*, V, 96; C. F. Baylis, *A Short History of Edgware and the Stanmores in the Middle Ages*, Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Historical Society 1957.

⁶⁵ Harmer, *AS Writs*, no. 78, with commentary at 313–15, 499–501; J. Crick, 'St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *ANS* 25, 2002, 65–83; T. A. Heslop, 'Twelfth-Century Forgeries as Evidence for Earlier Seals: the Case of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparkes, and T. Tatton-Brown, Woodbridge 1992, 299–310; A. E. Levett, *Studies in Manorial History*, London 1938, 129–31.

⁶⁶ The charter was dated to 1176 by R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, London 1878, 204; the text is in Edward IV's *inspeximus* printed by R. W. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, 1, London 1815, App. 1, 4–5. Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 162, is simply wrong on this. Borehamwood was immediately adjacent to the settlement at Elstree and the wording in Clement III's 1188 grant of appropriation of revenues, '*totam terram de Tidulvestre, sicut fossato clauditur, et communem pasturam bosci de Borham ...*' (all the land of Elstree, enclosed with a ditch, and the common pasture of the wood of Borham), suggests that it was already included within it (*Matthæi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 6 vols, RS 57, London 1872–83, VI, no. 32).

Watling Street, while the centre of *Heanhamstead* was west of it.⁶⁷ This misunderstanding may help explain her confused reading of the Barnet boundary, for which she posits 'a very large clockwise circuit lying primarily east of Watling Street ... but the bounds must cross Watling Street, presumably as they follow the course of the River Brent towards Totteridge. The bounds reach their most northerly identifiable point at the Shenley boundary, again to the west of Watling Street, before crossing the road to Monken Hadley.'⁶⁸ Absolutely any map will show Totteridge, Shenley and Hadley all comfortably east of Watling Street; similarly Betstile (TQ288926) is not 'somewhere in the vicinity of the river Lea'.⁶⁹ She also states that the Barnet bounds 'include the markers of a number of such well known estates (Frien (sic) Barnet, Wheathampstead, *Loperesleage*)', but Wheathampstead, well north of St Albans, does not and could not possibly figure.⁷⁰

Adjustments involving hidated estates along county boundaries must have affected the organization of hidage assessment. It is likely that Hertfordshire was initially assessed at 1200 hides, in line with other new Mercian shires assessed at multiples of 600, although by 1066, with a more complicated boundary, this had become around 1110 hides.⁷¹ More notably, and contrary to still-general assumptions, there is no sign of a matching pattern of twelve hundreds; by 1066 there were nine, and it has been suggested that Hertfordshire was one of a number of counties that were initially quartered.⁷² Our area would have been within the quarter comprising the later Dacorum and Albanestou/Cashio Hundreds (the latter an obvious breakaway) plus, if it was not initially in Buckinghamshire, Tring.⁷³ Huntingdonshire was still quartered in 1086 and so too, almost, was Middlesex.

Middlesex was unique in including London, a city whose defence, even before the creation of Hertfordshire, it would have struggled to support. The complaint in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *s.a.* 1097 of the oppression of the 'many shires whose labour was due at London' indicates the solution. Middlesex could be reduced because the obligations were imposed very widely: Henry I declared Battle abbey's land at Alfriston in Sussex (in Wessex since 825) free of bridgework there.⁷⁴ Middlesex must have been sufficiently altered by the creation of Hertfordshire to warrant a restructuring of its remaining *regiones* or hundreds, but what occurred was radical.⁷⁵ In Domesday the six hundreds totalled 880.25 hides and the detail certainly suggests an initial four. Even if they are taken as double hundreds, though, at 220 hides apiece they signally fail to conform either to the frequent Mercian pattern or to 'long

⁶⁷ Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, esp. 76; Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 145–6; there are other useful maps in Barton, *Shenley*, and Levett, *Studies in Manorial History*.

⁶⁸ Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 188–9. Her confusion, including her ascription of Barnet to Middlesex, is the more puzzling because my articles on the boundary, which include a map, are directly cited.

⁶⁹ Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 188–9.

⁷⁰ Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 186–7.

⁷¹ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Hertfordshire Domesday*, 38–9, 44, 46 (map); there are also hundred maps in Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, 226 and *DB Herts*.

⁷² Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State', for shires outside Wessex concentrates exclusively on examples likely to have had 100 hides to the hundred; Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Hertfordshire Domesday*, 44.

⁷³ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Hertfordshire Domesday*, 44; *Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, 25–6.

⁷⁴ E. J. Davis, 'Trimoda Necessitas', *History* 13, 1928–9, 33–4, 337; Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins', 278–9.

⁷⁵ K. Bailey, 'The Middle Saxons', in *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 108–22, attempts to disinter Middlesex's earlier units. Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, provides an excellent equivalent study for Hertfordshire but without fully factoring in the county's previous roots.

hundreds' of 120.⁷⁶ The four were Elthorne (224.5 hides in Domesday), Ossulstone (219.75), Gore (149), and Spelthorne (112); a fifth, Hounslow (105), had fairly obviously been created out of Spelthorne for the two estates held by Earl Ælfgar in 1066 and Walter de Saint-Valery in 1086. The sixth was Edmonton (70), and the maths plus the fact that most of the hundred was held pre- and post-Conquest by a single powerful lord have led to the assumption that it had been extracted from Gore.⁷⁷

This may be so, but neither Hounslow nor Edmonton was ever a private hundred and for Edmonton there are some interesting complications. Geoffrey de Mandeville, Esgar, and, apparently, Tovi, held 65 of the hundred's 70 hides but there is no sign that any of them ever held Tottenham, the remaining 5 hides, which makes the parallel with Spelthorne/Hounslow inexact. Secondly, thanks to an intervening spur of Ossulstone, Gore and Edmonton are not at any point contiguous. Thirdly, Edmonton was listed in the twelfth-century *Hidagium* as the half hundred of Mimms, and the (half) hundred meeting place was in South Mimms, which suggests an earlier link northward before the county line divided Mimms.⁷⁸ Considerably further back, *Eadulfington*/Edmonton and Enfield had probably lain within an estate and minster parish centred on Waltham, but it is highly unlikely that such a unit would have survived the differential absorption of Middlesex and Essex into Mercia in the eighth century, and impossible for it to have continued beyond Essex's transfer to Wessex in 825.⁷⁹

Waltham Hundred too was sometimes called a half hundred, but here as in the other two counties the term was not consistently applied. The Essex hundreds came in a range of sizes in terms of either acres or hides, with Waltham at the bottom end in both.⁸⁰ The county's hundreds have been said to conform to multiples of 100 hides, although Waltham in Domesday contained some 63.⁸¹ While Domesday Waltham bears the marks of a classic *manerium cum hundredo*, an early royal estate centre with minster that had evolved into the centre of its dependent hundred, this is an excellent area for questioning how frequent these classic hundreds ever actually were.

Many distinguished historians have argued that in its earliest, West Saxon form the hundred was a district dependent on a king's estate centre, administered by the royal reeve, and that from the tenth century this basic structure was extended

⁷⁶ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Middlesex Domesday*, 34, 37–8. There was no particular drop in assessments in Middlesex TRW. For the possibility of long hundreds in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, and the concomitant difficulty if 100-hide hundreds are taken as normative, F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *The Bedfordshire Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, London 1991, 54–64 at 58.

⁷⁷ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Middlesex Domesday*, 37–8.

⁷⁸ *VCH Middlesex*, V, 128–9 and sources there cited. For the likelihood of an adjustment of the relationship of South Mimms and Hadley to Edmonton, Enfield, and perhaps Shenley between 1005 and 1066, Taylor, 'A Thousand Years'.

⁷⁹ For the probable early parish, Huggins, 'First Steps'; Doree, *Origins of Edmonton Hundred*; M. Christy, 'The Essex Hundred-Moots: an Attempt at Identifying their Meeting Places', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* ns 18, 1928, 172–97 at 176.

⁸⁰ Christy, 'The Essex Hundred-Moots', 174, gives the acreages.

⁸¹ The figures are, as ever, complicated by the activities of predators. P. R. Boyden, 'A Study in the Structure of Landholding and Administration in Essex in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period', London PhD thesis, 1986, 212, claims that excluding the boroughs Domesday Essex had four hundreds at approximately 50 hides, ten at 100, one each at 150 and 200 and two each at 250 and 300. The Alecto editions of Domesday for the three LDB counties omitted the introductions on the hundreds. There are hundred maps in *VCH Essex*, I and *DB Essex*.

over the rest of the country.⁸² John Blair's stress on the relationship of royal *tuns* and minsters has served to reinforce the model, as perhaps has emphasis on the increasing role of towns in the late Anglo-Saxon state.⁸³ Centres of still-rural estates and towns are not, however, necessarily the same (Sawyer makes a clear distinction – his *tuns* are towns) and in fact increasing the role of towns, especially shire towns, would probably have worked against developing the role of royal reeves *in situ* in estate centres. Henry Loyn in his detailed consideration of the process of evolution from folk moot to hundred concluded that when increasing royal discipline was imposed on the folk moots within both new and old shires in the first half of the tenth century, this was probably not an extension of the role of the royal manor reeves; instead Edward the Elder 'ordered his chosen servants to regularize district meetings in convenient territorial divisions to ensure ... that each man could obtain his folkright'.⁸⁴

This formulation, which allows hundreds based on manors but does not insist on them, fits far better with the available evidence. Even Helen Cam's lists of manors with hundreds shows them in the minority, usually considerably so, in virtually every county. She herself carefully concluded that the pattern was fairly general in counties south of the Thames, ranging from strongest in the south-west to least prevalent in Sussex; sharply marked along the western borders and in East Anglia; well established in Essex and Northamptonshire; hardly discernible in the Danelaw, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and absent in Leicestershire and Middlesex.⁸⁵ The leap from this to normative is considerable, but subsequent county studies regularly cite the supposed rule while wittingly or otherwise revealing the exceptions.⁸⁶ Archaeologists and place-name experts meanwhile consistently emphasize that hundred names and, where we know them, meeting places tend to be in areas of open land marked by maximum ease and equality of access.⁸⁷

Round wrote in 1903 that 'the Essex Hundreds do not, either by their names or their areas, suggest archaic divisions. Nine of them, at least, take their names from parishes within their borders, and usually near their centres.'⁸⁸ It is not, however, likely that he intended his second sentence as proof of the first. A detailed later

⁸² Cf H. M. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo', *EHR* 47, 1932, 353–76, reprinted in eadem, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge 1944, 64–90, esp. 84–7 where she is citing Chadwick, Corbett, Stenton and Joliffe. P. Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins, Oxford 1983, 273–99.

⁸³ J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford 2005, esp. chs 2, 6 and bibliography. Among those on the increasing importance of towns, Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 73–103; R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late Saxon England', *Past & Present* no. 141, Nov. 1993, 3–37.

⁸⁴ Loyn, 'The Hundred', 3–4.

⁸⁵ Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo', 75–83.

⁸⁶ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Hertfordshire Domesday*, 43–4, is sceptical about the extent of hundredal attachments, but in his other county introductions sometimes appears surprised by the exceptions. For Brixton Hundred in Surrey, which both Thorn and Blair try painfully to fit into the mould, see P. Taylor, 'Domesday Mortlake', *ANS* 32, 2009, 203–29 at 220–2.

⁸⁷ E.g. A. Pantos, 'On the Edge of Things: the Boundary Location of Anglo-Saxon Assembly Sites', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12, 2003, 38–49 and 'The Location and Form of Assembly Places: Some "Moot Points"', in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Pantos and S. Semple, Dublin 2004, 155–80; Gelling, *West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, 142–5; A. L. Meaney, 'Hundred Meeting Places in the Cambridge Region', in Rumble and Mills, *Names, Places and People*, 195–240.

⁸⁸ J. H. Round, 'Introduction to the Essex Domesday', *VCH Essex*, I, 334–426 at 406.

study by Miller Christy confirmed a neat pattern of roughly round or oval hundreds, and neat of course often signals late or artificial, even without uniformity of size.⁸⁹ Christy also concluded that while rivers and the sea formed the boundaries of the outer hundreds on the north, east and south, in the interior the boundaries usually ran along watersheds and the rivers flowed ‘in most cases, through *the middles of the Hundreds*’.⁹⁰ This was also true of the two northernmost of the five hundreds on the western edge, Uttlesford and Clavering, ‘bounded on the west ... by the height-of-land which appears to have been selected as the dividing-line between the Saxon Kingdoms of Mercia and Essex and which forms today the dividing line between the counties of Hertford and Essex’.⁹¹

Harlow and Waltham, however, the next two hundreds southward which comprise the majority of the western border, have the Stort and the Lea as their respective western boundaries and, in contrast to all the hundreds with river boundaries along Essex’s northern and southern edges, lie longways on to the rivers. Christy therefore argued that both had been severed, implausibly suggesting the Treaty of Wedmore as the culprit.⁹² The last western hundred, Becontree, is also bounded by the Lea but the Roding runs through its centre and, as the author says, the configuration of its facing hundred, Ossulstone, ‘is not such that one can infer that its easternmost portion ever formed part of Becontree Hundred, though it may have done so’.⁹³ Given that severance along the western edge must have happened at latest in 825 and probably far earlier, the consistent pattern he uncovers suggests that early units had otherwise largely been retained. Tom Williamson has similarly stressed the use of watersheds (or interfluves) as early unit boundaries within Hertfordshire.⁹⁴

Despite Waltham, there is also no indication either of an overall system based originally on royal manors or of one later altered to be so. Twelve of the twenty hundreds took their names ‘from existing parishes (formerly, no doubt, manors) of the same name’, which were often centrally placed.⁹⁵ Even within this bare majority, though, there is no justification for assuming that the hundreds always met at the eponymous manor hall or that, if they did, the manor and its reeve provided the basic reason. The main criteria for meeting places seem to have been accessibility and the need to accommodate considerable numbers. Two of the majority twelve plus two others carry *-ford* names and several more had ford meeting places: fords on significant roads were as accessible and as well known as anywhere, whether or not this had also led to their becoming estate centres. Becontree, Winstree and Chafford were among the hundreds that met on heaths, the latter two without an eponymous manor or parish.⁹⁶ Heaths were best for hosting large gatherings, and the number of attendees at a single hundred, let alone a group, must have been considerable. All administrators were also still routinely peripatetic. A hundred reeve for one (or more) of the many hundreds that were never centred on a particular manor may

⁸⁹ Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’. Some of the atypically shaped hundreds had been divided.

⁹⁰ Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’, 175, author’s italics.

⁹¹ Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’, 176.

⁹² Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’, 176, 192–3.

⁹³ Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’, 177. He could have added that Becontree, like Harlow and Waltham, was small and often known as a half hundred: *Place-Names of Essex*, 87.

⁹⁴ Williamson, *Origins of Hertfordshire*, *passim*.

⁹⁵ Christy, ‘The Essex Hundred-Moots’, 178.

⁹⁶ Chafford was originally *-worth* not *-ford*, so also wood-related, and Chafford Heath was in Upminster parish: *Place-Names of Essex*, 195. The volume draws heavily on Christy’s work.

well have had a fixed base in the county town or a convenient royal estate, but that is very different from asserting an overall pattern of hundredal manors.

There are problems too with over-rigid generalizations about private hundreds. Cam moderated her own (still in many cases persuasive) initial arguments about 'hundreds born private' in line with evidence for the later creation of some of the most spectacular, and the exceptionality of the Benedictine cluster in East Anglia and the bishop of Worcester's Oswaldslow is now well recognized.⁹⁷ In 'Suitors and Scabini' she included Waltham in a list of hundreds granted by Edward the Confessor, but the charter (even assuming it is entirely genuine) only confirmed Waltham abbey's freedom from suit of shire and hundred, and in 'Manerium cum Hundredo' she placed Waltham among hundreds attached to manors by the thirteenth century.⁹⁸ Benedictine St Albans had the only private hundred in Hertfordshire, but even this does not entirely fit the model.⁹⁹ Cam thought the monks' claim in 1275 to have been granted the hundred by King Offa obviously anachronistic, but that Offa might well have given 'some or all of the lands that were to make up the hundred when it was later constituted with St Albans as its administrative centre [and] have made over to the abbey some or all of his regalian fiscal rights'.¹⁰⁰ It looks, though, as if even the core area of Albanestou/Cashio (as opposed to later additions from other parts of the county) had to be extracted from Dacorum; and if, as Thorn suggests, the initial quartering of the county that later evolved into Dacorum, Albanestou/Cashio, and, perhaps, Tring, was centred on Kingsbury, then the abbey signally failed to acquire the hundred along with the manor.¹⁰¹

The four 'original' hundreds of Middlesex, Ossulstone, Spelthorne, Elthorne and Gore, all took their names from their rural meeting places, with only the two apparent offshoots, Hounslow and Edmonton, named from settlements. The king had less than a virgate of land in the county by 1066 but all the hundreds remained royal, and holdings that would doubtless elsewhere have led directly to private hundreds conspicuously failed to do so: the archbishop of Canterbury's 100-hide manor of Harrow was within Gore and the extensive and widely spread estates of the bishopric of London were all subsumed within Ossulstone. It was the northward spur of Ossulstone, stretching up to include the bishop of London's distant wood-

⁹⁷ H. M. Cam, 'Suitors and Scabini', *Speculum* 10, 1935, 189–200, reprinted in eadem, *Liberties and Communities*, 49–63; eadem, 'The "Private" Hundred before the Norman Conquest', in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. C. Davies, London 1957, 50–60, reprinted in eadem, *Law-Finders and Law-Makers: Collected Studies in Legal and Constitutional History*, London 1962, 59–70; eadem, 'The Evolution of the Mediaeval English Franchise', *Speculum* 32, 1957, 427–42 at 435–6, reprinted in *Law-Finders and Law-Makers*, 22–43; Loyn, 'The Hundred', 10–12; Keynes, 'England 900–1016', 458; P. Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: an "Immunity"?', in *St Oswald of Worcester: his Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt, Leicester 1995, 117–28.

⁹⁸ S 1036; Cam, *Liberties and Communities*, 59, 82; Ransford, *Early Charters of Waltham Abbey*, lxiii.

⁹⁹ Cam's inclusion of Edwinstree as a half-hundred of the bishop of London is mistaken (H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls*, London 1930, Appendix 4; P. Taylor, 'The Endowment and Military Obligations of the See of London: a Reassessment of Three Sources', *ANS* 14, 1991, 287–312 at 302).

¹⁰⁰ Cam, 'The Private Hundred', 54.

¹⁰¹ Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Hertfordshire Domesday*, 44. The court under the ash tree is familiar to historians through its frequent occurrence in the post-Conquest documents edited in Levett, *Studies in Manorial History*. The location close to the abbey is given in recent works by Niblett and Thompson but exclusively via citations of secondary authors, normally archaeologists, and although the contexts are said to be late Saxon neither author ever names the hundred or sees the importance of the relationship between Cashio and Dacorum (Thompson in *Alban's Buried Towns*, ed. Niblett and Thompson, 245, 264; R. Niblett, 'Offa's St Albans', in *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England, 400–1200. Papers in Honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle*, ed. M. Henig and N. Ramsay, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 505, 2010, 129–133 at 133).

land attachments to Fulham and Stepney and meeting the Hertfordshire boundary at Barnet, that ran between and separated Gore and Edmonton Hundreds.

In describing the likelihood that shires had been grouped into larger units of 120 hundreds, Loyn placed Surrey with Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, 'the heart of historic Wessex', in one such unit, Kent and Sussex in another, and exempted only 'Essex (probably 20 hundreds in 1066), Middlesex, and parts of Hertfordshire' as 'too complicated by proximity to London for plausible reconstruction in larger groupings'.¹⁰² London's local impact is undeniable but the agency is not straightforward. Essex was neither closer to London nor newer to Wessex than Surrey, and its hundredal pattern, totally contrasting with that of Middlesex, might, as argued above, reflect an earlier structure.¹⁰³ Its lack of a wider group could perhaps have had as much to do with being stuck in a corner between East Anglia and the Thames as directly with London.

The area from St Albans through *Eadulfingtun* to Waltham was never homogeneous, but it was all sufficiently exceptional to provide a better area for testing generalizations than for promulgating them. The ones that fail are too absolute: all Mercian shires in units of 600, all hundreds in units of 100, black and white contrasts between arrangements in the Wessex heartlands and the rest. The area also offers absolutely no support for hundreds normatively centred on royal *tuns* or for the routine development of private hundreds. There was nevertheless a clear interplay between external estate boundaries and public administrative ones, while within their estates powerful lords could undertake significant rearrangements. The shift from *Eadulfingtun* to Edmonton, occurring between 1005 and 1066, was presumably down to Tovi, his son or grandson. Tovi also provides another example of land in Middlesex being transferred to one of the latest wave of new royal officials, mainly unusual (though the documentation is extremely sparse) in that the land remained with his descendents rather than passing to the church.¹⁰⁴ At all levels, estate, hundred, and shire, *Eadulfingtun* and its area allow us to glimpse elements of continuity co-existing with new groupings and offices, experimentation and change, coupled, especially in Middlesex, with the prevention of private control of hundreds. These balances, between continuity and change and between official and royal power, reflect key factors in the administration of the late Anglo-Saxon state.

¹⁰² H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087*, London 1984, 137–8.

¹⁰³ For the six core West Saxon shires, not including Surrey, Williams, *Kingship and Government*, 54.

¹⁰⁴ The 10 hides at Islington granted by Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821) to his faithful *comes* Beornoth in the charter renewed to Ealdorman Æthelfryth in 903 had passed to St Paul's before 1066: Keynes, 'A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington'; Westminster Abbey acquired at least some of the 9 *mansae* at *Loperesleage* (later part of its manor of Hendon) and Tunworth granted in 957 by King Eadwig to his minister Lyfing: S 645; Gelling, *Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, no. 220; D. Sullivan, *The Westminster Corridor: the Anglo-Saxon Story of Westminster Abbey and its Lands in Middlesex*, London 1994, 8–9, 167–8.

Appendix: the Barnet Boundary

Dis synt þæs pealdes gemære in to þære ealden byrig

Ærest of hæpenes hlæpe andlang Enefeldinga gemære on scir burnan, of scir burnan to æbeleofan hægce, of þam hægce to æschyrhtes heale, of þam heale andlang Eadulf-ingtunga gemære to reodes geate, of þam geate on Byttes stigele, of Byttes stigele andlang þæs biscopes gemære on pakeling mor, of þam more on Aggan geat, of þam geate on þone steort æt Bræneten, andlang Brænecten a be þam geondran stæpe on þæne sihter æt Tatehrycges ænde, of þam sihtre andlang Heandunga gemære on grændeles gat, of grændeles gate andlang Scenleainga gemære on ruge beorclege, of beorclege on Hæplege, of Hæplege a be pyrtruman eft on hæpenes hlæpe.

The text was copied twice with minor variations; this version follows the choices between them made by Crick, *Charters of St Albans*, 181–2, who also supplies the variations.

THE FAMILY OF WULFRIC SPOTT: AN ANGLO-SAXON MARCHER DYNASTY?

Charles Insley

My first encounter with the work of Ann Williams was as an undergraduate student in the early 1990s when she presented what was to become chapter two of her magisterial *The English and the Norman Conquest* to the Norman Conquest special subject group at the University of Oxford.¹ In this paper she outlined the intricate linkages between local networks of kinship, allegiance and interest and political events on the larger, national scale. Subsequently, I was in the audience at a conference on medieval prosopography, some fifteen years ago when Ann gave her paper on Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar.² In her exploration of Beorhtric's career, Ann demonstrated very clearly that the late Anglo-Saxon state, precocious, oppressive and efficient as it was, rested on dozens of men like Beorhtric. In other words, that the networks of local kinship, affiliation and shared interest that bound regional elites together were a vital cog in the functioning of the kingdom of the English and that local and national politics were inextricably intertwined. There are many facets to Ann's work on pre- and post-Norman Conquest English society, but it is an investigation of these links between the local and the national that will underpin this essay. The following discussion concerns another Anglo-Saxon family of regional significance and will, briefly, explore the relationship between local and national politics in the second half of the tenth century.

The family is that of the wealthy Mercian king's thegn, Wulfric Spott, who died in around 1004. Uniquely for a family outside of Wessex, a reasonable amount about Wulfric's family can be discerned, for the simple reason that a portion – perhaps a significant one – of their archive survived amongst the muniments of Wulfric's foundation of Burton Abbey and has thus, via the Peniarth collection in the National Library of Wales, survived to the present day.³ The jewel in this particular Mercian crown is Wulfric's will, preserved both in Peniarth 390, the thirteenth-century cartulary of Burton Abbey, and as a mid-eleventh-century single sheet in the Burton-on-Trent Museum, which shows not only the large extent of Wulfric's landed wealth, but also reveals precious details about Wulfric's family.⁴ This will and the charters which survived alongside it have allowed historians, notably Peter Sawyer, to

¹ A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995, 24–44.

² A. Williams, 'A West-Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: the Family, Estates and Patronage of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1997, 41–68.

³ See *Anglo-Saxon Charters II: The Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, Oxford 1979, xiii–xiv. Most, if not all, of the Burton charters are preserved in the thirteenth-century Peniarth 390 (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 390).

⁴ Burton upon Trent Museum, Burton Muniment 1. This document is a later eleventh-century single sheet copy of Wulfric's will and Æthelred II's confirmation of Wulfric's endowment of Burton Abbey.

explore the ways in which a regionally powerful family might have operated on the fringes of English royal power in the North Midlands.⁵

The subscriptions of royal charters from the last quarter of the tenth century reveal Wulfric to have been part of a circle of influential clerics and laymen around King Æthelred II who constituted the major – perhaps the dominant – presence at his court during the 990s and the first five years of the eleventh century.⁶ Wulfric, then, straddled some of the different registers of Anglo-Saxon politics, a figure of both national and regional/local significance.

Conceptualizing the March

The starting point for the following discussion is a comment I made elsewhere that Wulfric's family were a 'marcher dynasty'.⁷ In hindsight this statement might appear to be somewhat of a hostage to fortune and the function of the present discussion is to expand on and justify that comment. That Wulfric was a powerful and well-connected magnate with a significant number of estates in the North Midlands is undeniable, but does this make him a 'marcher lord', or his family a 'marcher dynasty'? A different question perhaps, and one further complicated by the ambiguity of the terms 'march' and 'marcher'. Historians might be reasonably clear when talking about marches and marchers in the later Middle Ages, when such institutions had some sort of legal/jurisdictional identity, but what, precisely, these terms might have meant in a tenth-century English context is much less clear.

Historians do, indeed, have a much clearer idea of what 'march' might mean when discussing later medieval Britain; Rees Davies, in discussing the Welsh march of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, saw it as a 'frontierland of peoples', where different languages, cultures, customs and laws came into contact, not always peacefully.⁸ Similar observations might be made about the West, Middle and East marches that formed the border between England and Scotland from the fourteenth century.⁹ Davies also makes a very important point, that marches, by their very nature, are difficult to map and unlikely to have stable or clear boundaries. Defining the march, in Davies words, involves 'the phraseology of imprecision'.¹⁰

'Marches' are really part of the wider study of frontiers, about which much has been written.¹¹ One thread to pull out of the voluminous literature on borders and

⁵ Sawyer, *Burton*, xxi–xlvi.

⁶ S. D. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready', 978–1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge 1980, 188–9, 209.

⁷ C. Insley, 'Southumbria', in *A Companion to Early Medieval Britain c. 500–c. 1100*, ed. P. Stafford, Blackwell 2009, 322–40 at 330.

⁸ R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282–1400*, Oxford 1978, 10.

⁹ See, most recently, M. Holford and K. Stringer, *Border Liberties and Loyalties*, Edinburgh 2010, 1–14; A. Goodman, 'Religion and Warfare in the Anglo-Scottish Marches', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay, Oxford 1989, 245–66; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire*, Oxford 2000, 173–90.

¹⁰ Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 15.

¹¹ There is a significant amount of scholarship on this subject; for general introduction, the reader is directed to the introduction of *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands 700–1700*, ed. D. Power and N. Standen, Basingstoke 1999, 1–13, and the essays contained in Bartlett and Mackay's *Medieval Frontier Societies*, in particular those by Geoffrey Barrow, Rees Davies, Robin Frame, Katherine Simms and Anthony Goodman. See also R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100–1400*, Oxford 1989, 198–224; R. Bartlett, 'Heartland and Border: the Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, Oxford

frontiers is that, in a medieval context, such frontiers were rarely, if ever, simple linear boundaries; rather, they were often zones of differing levels of interaction and control, reflecting the fact that most medieval 'states', especially in the earlier Middle Ages, were rather difficult to define in purely territorial terms, since kingship/rulership tended to be expressed in terms of rights and lordship over men as much as places. By example, in the tenth century the kings of England were described in their *acta* and in the narrative sources as kings *of the English*, and even then, the term 'English' was susceptible to several different readings, depending on whether one was talking about cultural or political solidarities.¹² The terms used in the Middle Ages reflect this lack of geographical rigidity; frontiers were *limites*, or 'marches', both terms which have an element of imprecision about them.¹³

Another key point, drawn out by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen in their 1997 collection of essays on medieval frontiers, is that the political structure of a frontier zone might vary considerably: it might be an area where the over-riding necessity was to appease local sentiment and hence give local elites a significant amount of autonomy; conversely, it might be an area where political necessity demanded that a ruler needed tight political control, strengthening his power in relation to elites in the frontier zone.¹⁴ This is a point Power amplified in his study of the Norman frontier in the twelfth century. Here, Power characterized the Welsh march as an example of the former, where local elites were given a largely free hand, and the Norman Vexin as a frontier zone of the latter type, where the Norman dukes exercised tight and ruthless control, rather than ceding significant elements of local control to local lords.¹⁵ A march, then, was a frontier zone, where political and social institutions reflected these different relationships with the wider political hinterland. These zones were frequently, but by no means always, militarized in the medieval period. Even where the frontier zone was not explicitly militarized, events could rapidly escalate so that it became such. Edward I's wars against the Scots created a highly militarized frontier that endured until the seventeenth century:¹⁶ as Bartlett

2007, ed. H. Pryce and J. Watts, 23–36, and the collection of essays in *The British Isles 1100–1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, ed. R. Davies, Edinburgh 1988.

¹² There is much written on the creation of 'English' identity in the earlier Middle Ages; excellent starting points may be found in the work of the late Patrick Wormald (P. Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough and R. Collins, Oxford 1983, 99–129; P. Wormald, 'Engla Land: the Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, 1994, 1–24) and James Campbell (J. Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement', in *Uniting the Kingdom?: the Making of British History*, ed. A. Grant and K. J. Stringer, London 1995, 31–47; J. Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: a Maximum View', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 87, 1994, 39–65). See also S. Foot, 'The Historiography of the Anglo-Saxon "Nation-State"', in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. L. Scales and O. Zimmer, Cambridge 2005, 125–42; S. Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 6th Ser. 6, 1996, 25–49.

¹³ *Frontiers in Question*, ed. Power and Standen, 6–7; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 16. Davies refers to the 'March of Wales' as a 'term of art' for the historian.

¹⁴ *Frontiers in Question*, ed. Power and Standen, 11–12; D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 2004, 2–6.

¹⁵ Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 4, 10–18, 45–6; Davies, *Lordship and Society*, 1–4.

¹⁶ Much has been written on the formation of the Anglo-Scottish military frontier. For an introduction, see the following: M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225–1360*, Oxford 2005, 228–39, 259–64; M. Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214–1371*, Edinburgh 2004; C. Neville, 'Local Sentiment and the "National" Enemy – Northern England in the Middle Ages', *Journal of British Studies* 35, 1996, 419–37 at 420–2.

and Mackay put it in the preface to their edited volume on frontier societies, even 'cool frontiers could heat up'.¹⁷

England in the Tenth Century

It is the march or frontier between Mercia and Northumbria that is the subject of the following discussion.¹⁸ It is important, at this stage, to remember the term 'Mercia' itself means, effectively, 'march', so, one might argue, a central aspect of Mercian political identity in the period up to the late ninth/early tenth century – and arguably beyond – was the notion of the Mercians themselves being a frontier people. Historians are fond of making great claims for the importance of the periods they study but, such hyperbole apart, a case can be made for regarding the tenth century as a genuinely critical period in not just English history but the history of the wider Atlantic Archipelago; in a Stentonian sense, it witnessed the 'making of England', the construction – largely at swordpoint – of a single kingdom of all the English.¹⁹ Leaving behind the teleological certainties of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, the period from 900 to the 950s saw the kings of the Anglo-Saxons and later the English, as they styled themselves, aggressively and ruthlessly expand their control over most of the lowland zone of mainland Britain, as well as developing and articulating an ideology of pan-British rule that encompassed the highland zone as well. In the eighth century, and even the ninth, one can point to a number of competing hegemonies in mainland Britain, north and south. By the early eleventh century, however, the kingdom of the English had emerged as an increasingly dominant military and economic presence in Britain.²⁰ In the second decade of the tenth century, Edward the Elder and his sister Æthelflæd, *Domina Merciorum*, had launched aggressive campaigns of conquest against the Scandinavian lordships in the East Midlands, rapidly rolling up most of the eastern half of Mercia by 920. In that year Edward met with Scandinavian rulers of Northumbria and the kings of the Scots and the *Stracledwalas*, the British of Strathclyde at Bakewell in north Derbyshire.²¹ The C manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle characterizes this meeting as a submission to Edward, but what seems more likely is that this was a meeting between the rulers of northern and southern Britain.²² The upshot of the Bakewell meeting, if it took place at all, is that the cockpit of conflict between the southern English and the northerners had shifted to the frontier between Mercia and

¹⁷ *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Bartlett and Mackay, v.

¹⁸ David Roffe has examined the North/East Midlands in the late Anglo-Saxon period from an institutional point of view; see D. Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 106 (1986), 102–22; D. Roffe, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, Alecto County Edition (London, 1991), 32–42.

¹⁹ A now corrupt version of a Latin poem refers to Æthelstan's victories of the summer of 927 making England 'whole' or 'complete' ('*ista perfecta Saxonia*'); M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of King Æthelstan', *ASE* 9, 1981, 61–98 at 83–93. An eleventh-century manuscript from Exeter also has a note that Æthelstan 'ruled all of England singly, which prior to him many kings had shared between them' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2.16, fo. 8r; M. Wood, 'The Making of King Æthelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne', in *Ideal and Reality*, ed. Wormald, Bullough and Collins, 250–72 at 271).

²⁰ Insley, 'Southumbria', 332–5.

²¹ A. Woolf, 'Reporting Scotland in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. Alice Jorgensen, Turnhout, 2010, 221–39.

²² ASC C, s.a. 920; Davidson, 'The (non-)Submission', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N. S. Higham and D. Hill, London 2001, 200–11.

the southern English, and Northumbria. At stake was control of the Viking kingdom of York, established in the later ninth century and ruled since the second decade of the tenth by a Hiberno-Norse dynasty known as the Clann Ivarr.²³ Æthelstan had made attempts to subjugate York and Northumbria in 927, marrying his sister to Sihtric, king of York, and then, following Sihtric's death, annexing his kingdom.²⁴ At a meeting at Eamont Bridge, near Penrith, Æthelstan met the kings of Scots and Strathclyde.²⁵ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle casts this meeting as a submission, as does William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1130s;²⁶ more likely Æthelstan was seeking and obtaining Scottish and Cumbrian acceptance of his control of Northumbria. Although Æthelstan was successful in the short term, this control did not outlast his death in October 939.²⁷ Within months of Æthelstan's death, the Northumbrians had rejected southern English lordship and a major incursion had overrun the so-called 'Five Boroughs', the Scandinavianized area of settlement in the North Midlands.²⁸ According to the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Northumbrians were 'false to their pledges (*alugon hira getreowaða*)' and Anlaf Guthfrithson, nephew of the Sihtric who had ruled York in 926, led a campaign deep into Mercia, capturing Tamworth and a number of notable prisoners, including Wulfrun, mother of Wulfric Spott. Leicester seems to have been used as a base for this campaign; following the attack on Tamworth, Anlaf, along with Archbishop Wulfstan of York, was besieged there by Edmund. A short piece of alliterative verse on Edmund's reconquest of this zone forms part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annal for 942, but not until the final defeat and death of the last Viking king of York, Erik Bloodaxe at some point between 952 and 954 was English control over southern Northumbria established with any certainty.²⁹

Inevitably, the frontier between Mercia and Northumbria was not a simple line on a map, but a zone encompassing, on the eastern side of the Pennines, the Humber catchment; in other words, much of the northern parts of modern Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, as well as South Yorkshire and parts of the East

²³ C. Downham, *The Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: the Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014*, Edinburgh 2006, 83–120.

²⁴ ASC D, s.a. 927; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 99–105.

²⁵ ASC D, s.a. 927.

²⁶ ASC D, s.a. 927: 'and he brought under his rule all the kings who were in this island (*and ealle þa cyngas on þyssum iglande wæron he gewylde*)'; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, 131, 134.

²⁷ The best treatment of Æthelstan's reign is still Wood, 'The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire'. Two biographies of Æthelstan are now in preparation: see S. Foot, *Aethelstan*, New Haven 2012, and C. Insley, *Aethelstan*, London, forthcoming.

²⁸ P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 109–22; D. M. Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*, Manchester 2007, 54–61.

²⁹ ASC C, D, s.a. 942, 954; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, 63–7. Historians since the early twentieth century have conventionally identified the Erik who was king of York in the early 950s with the Norse saga hero Erik 'Bloodaxe' (*blóðøx*) (W. G. Collingwood, 'King Erik of York', *Saga-Book of the Viking Club* 2, 1898–1901, 313–27; see also M. Wood, 'In Search of Eric Bloodaxe' in *In Search of the Dark Ages*, ed. M. Wood, London 1981, 157–85). However, both Clare Downham and Alex Woolf have recently argued against this identification (Downham, *Viking Kings*, 115–20; A. Woolf, 'Erik Bloodaxe Revisited', *Northern History* 34, 1998, 189–93). Matters are further complicated by the imprecise dating of the end of Viking York and whether King Erik had one or two separate reigns in the late 940s and early 950s (M. L. Beaven, 'King Edmund I and the Danes of York', *EHR* 33, 1918, 1–9; P. H. Sawyer, 'The Last Scandinavian Kings of York', *Northern History* 31, 1995, 39–44; Woolf, 'Erik Bloodaxe Revisited'; C. Downham, 'The Chronology of the Last Scandinavian Kings of York, AD 937–954', *Northern History* 40, 2003, 25–51). Sawyer and Woolf suggest that the chronology of two separate reigns (948) established in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is erroneous; Downham, conversely, suggests that Erik did indeed have two stints at being king in York and that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle chronology is broadly right.

and West Riding, an area partly delineated by the Don and Aire valleys.³⁰ In terms of the conflict between the southern English and their northern neighbours, English, Norse and Brytonnic, this zone was enormously important. It lay astride the main routes north and south and for the middle years of the tenth century, it was the focus of intense military and governmental activity.³¹ Between 939 and 948 there were seven major military campaigns in the North Midlands and southern Northumbria and Michael Wood has suggested that the forts along the line of the River Don, such as those at Doncaster itself, and those mentioned at Conisbrough and *Mercesburh*/Mexborough (near Templeford) may have been constructed or reconstructed during this period.³² Whether they were constructed by the Mercians, as Wood suggests, or by the Northumbrians as Michael Parker implies is less clear; both, however, agree on an early tenth-century date for these fortifications.³³ It is also likely that these fortifications may have been as significant as those built west of the Pennines by Æthelred and Æthelflæd at around the same time.³⁴ Wood has also tried, unsuccessfully so far, to locate in the Don valley the site of the pivotal battle of *Brunanburh*, fought between Æthelstan and a great northern alliance of Northumbrians, Scots, Strathclyde Britons and Dublin Vikings in 937.³⁵ Where this battle took place is one of the great unsolved mysteries of the late Anglo-Saxon period; the consensus at the moment suggests that *Brunanburh* and Bromborough on the Wirral are one and the same, although a site east of the Pennines somewhere between the Don and Aire should not be discounted, not least because in the 940s, this seems to have been the main area of conflict between the southern English and the Northumbrians.³⁶ Æthelstan's half-brother Edmund campaigned in this area in 942, an area described by the C manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as bounded by Dore, to the west of Sheffield, Whitwell (one of the estates in Wulfic's will) and the Humber.³⁷ Anlaf Guthfrithson's destructive raid into southern England in 940, following Æthelstan's death, seems to have been through Derbyshire, Staffordshire and into Leicestershire.³⁸ In 947, Eadred secured the temporary submission of the Northumbrians at Tanshelf, on the River Aire near Pontefract, while his campaign against King Erik and York the following year ended in disaster when his army was overtaken crossing the Aire at Castleford and heavily defeated: according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'great slaughter (*micel geslogon*)' was made there.³⁹

³⁰ M. Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 20, 1980, 200–17.

³¹ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 206.

³² ASC C, D, s.a. 940, 942, 943, 944, 946, 947, 948. In 945 King Edmund campaigned on the other side of the Pennines, ravaging 'eall Cumbra land (all Cumberland)' and granting it to Mael Coluim I, king of Scots. See also Wood 'Brunanburh Revisited', 207; F.T. Wainwright, 'North-West Mercia AD 871–924', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 94, 1942, 3–55; M. Parker, 'Some Notes on the Pre-Norman History of Doncaster', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 59 (1987), 29–43.

³³ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 207; Parker, 'Doncaster', 35–7.

³⁴ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 207; S. Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Fortifications in Western Mercia', *Midland History* 36, 2011, 1–23 at 14–19.

³⁵ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited'; M. Wood, 'Tinsley Wood', in *In Search of England: Journeys into the English Past*, London 2000, 203–21 at 208–11.

³⁶ There is a large bibliography concerning the site of *Brunanburh*; the most recent treatment, advocating the Bromborough identification is that of Paul Cavill; P. Cavill, 'The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh: Manuscripts and Maps, Grammar and Geography', in *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling*, ed. O. J. Padel and D. N. Parsons, Donnington 2008, 303–19.

³⁷ ASC C, s.a. 942: 'swa Dor sceadæð Hwytanwyllesgeat and Himbran ea, brada brymstream'.

³⁸ ASC C, s.a. 940.

³⁹ ASC D, s.a. 948.

The middle years of the tenth century also seem to have been the period when the distinctive local administrative and judicial structures that can be seen in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire came into being, as David Roffe has persuasively argued.⁴⁰ Characteristic of this structure was that much of the maintenance of law and order was devolved down to the level of individual communities, rather than individual lords and landowners.⁴¹ Roffe suggests parallels with the Hundred Ordinance drawn up either by Eadred or Edgar. Roffe also argues that the creation of Derbyshire and probably Nottinghamshire happened at the same time as the organisation or reorganisation of the hundreds and wapentakes, since the administrative structures do not intersect and cut across each other; the structure we see in Domesday seems to have in part over-ridden an earlier tenth-century structure based on the burghal centres of the North Midlands, the so-called 'Five Boroughs'. The same phase of English governmental activity also saw the detachment of Lindsey from a Northumbrian orbit and the most likely period for all this was in the decades that followed the recovery of the northern Danelaw by Edmund after 942.

One might object that the area between the Don and Aire was no longer quite such a strategic frontier following the fall of the kingdom of York in around 954. To an extent, this is true, but it is also clear that despite the ending of an independent kingdom in northern England, Northumbria was never completely part of the kingdom of the English in either the later tenth or early eleventh century, during which period it seems to have had periods of drifting out of anything like strong southern control. Apart from the general absence of northerners from the royal court, as attested in the surviving charter evidence,⁴² the strained relationship between Northumbria and southern England during Eadred's reign (946–955) and beyond is hinted at in a group of charters with strong Mercian associations – strong enough that they should be regarded as not just Mercian productions but also documents that to some extent represent a distinctively Mercian perspective on the political geography of mid-tenth century England.⁴³ These charters, known to historians as the 'alliterative charters' because of their distinctive formulation also share a very distinctive royal style which distinguishes clearly between rule over the English and Northumbria:⁴⁴ for example, S 550, a grant dated 949 to a thegn called Wulfric of land in Gloucestershire describes the king as 'most glorious king of the English and ruler of the Northumbrians and emperor of the pagans and defender of the Britons (*rex Anglorum gloriossimus rectorque Norpanhymbran et paganorum imperator Brittonumque propugnator*)'. This complex and slightly awkward formulation must surely represent local awareness in Mercia of the realities of English royal power in the north. It is striking that charters granted to beneficiaries in the south – in Wessex and Kent – maintain the all-encompassing and grandiloquent royal styles used in the charters of Eadred's brother Edmund and half-brother Æthelstan. It seems likely, therefore, that royal or comital control of this border zone and the communications

⁴⁰ Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire', 110–16.

⁴¹ D. Roffe, 'The Danes and the Making of the Kingdom of the English', in *Nations in Medieval Britain*, ed. H. Tsurushima (Donnington, 2010), 23–44 at 42–3.

⁴² See, in particular, S 939, Æthelred II's confirmation of the will of Æthelric of Bocking (c. 996 x 999) which refers to thegns being present from far and wide, 'from Wessex and Mercia, English and Danish (*ge of Westsexan, ge of Myrcean, ge of Denon, ge of Englon*)'. There is no mention of any Northumbrians.

⁴³ S. D. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, Cambridge 1985, 143–201 at 158–9; Sawyer, *Burton*, xlvii–xlix; *EHD*, I, 372–3. Keynes suggests that the 'case for associating the charters with Cenwald (bishop of Worcester) is compelling'.

⁴⁴ S 520, 544, 548–50, 552a, 569, 572.

routes into southern England remained vital long after the nominal extinction of the last remnant of the ancient Northumbrian kingdom.

Wulfric and his Family.

To what extent, then, can Wulfric's family be seen as a marcher family, or the area in which they operated as a some sort of 'march'? As has already been noted, the survival of at least some of Wulfric's family archive in the muniments of Burton Abbey allows some measure of detailed study of his family in its local, regional and national settings. Although Wulfric's will shows estates scattered right across the Midlands, from Gloucestershire to Yorkshire, the geographical centre of gravity for these estates was the North Midlands, in the counties of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire, where some forty-eight of the seventy-four estates in the will were located.⁴⁵ Something of Wulfric's career as a member of the royal court can also be reconstructed from his appearances in the subscriptions of royal charters. Allowing for the fact that his name was not too uncommon, it seems likely that Wulfric began witnessing royal charters in the later 960s, doing so consistently until his death at some point in the first four or five years of the eleventh century.⁴⁶ In around 993 Wulfric's brother, Ælfhelm, was made ealdorman of York, a lordship he held until his murder in 1006.⁴⁷ In particular, during the 990s, Wulfric seems to have been associated with the dominant group around King Æthelred II, a group that included the king's mother, Ælfthryth, the king's uncle Ordulf, the king's distant kinsman Æthelweard ('the chronicler'), Æthelweard's son Æthelmaer (the founder of Benedictine houses at Cerne and Eynsham) and other luminaries.⁴⁸ Like Æthelmaer and Ordulf, Wulfric was a monastic founder, clearly a follower of the programme of royal and aristocratic monastic patronage established during Edgar's reign.⁴⁹ In his will, Wulfric specifically committed his foundation, Burton (on Trent), to Æthelred's care; a royal charter of 1004 confirmed Wulfric's endowment of his foundation and granted it privileges.⁵⁰

We know less about Wulfric's family. His mother is named as Wulfrun in S 886, where he is called '*Wulfrunesunu*'. This woman was almost certainly the eponymous founder of Wolverhampton priory and the individual important enough to be named in the C version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as among those captured by the Anlaf Guthfrithson at Tamworth during his great raid of 940.⁵¹ It is striking – and not often commented on – that Wulfric was identified by a matronymic in S 886, suggesting that his father had either died early or was, for some reason, *persona non grata*. Wulfric was also probably related to the Midlands thegn Wulfsige *Maurus* ('the black') who had been active in the middle years of the tenth century. Wulfsige

⁴⁵ Sawyer, *Burton*, xvi–xvii.

⁴⁶ Sawyer, *Burton*, xxxviii–xl.

⁴⁷ Sawyer, *Burton*, xxii; ASC C, s.a. 1006; John of Worcester, II, 456–9.

⁴⁸ Keynes, *Diplomas*, 186–208.

⁴⁹ D. Whitelock, 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries' in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. J. L. Rosier, Paris 1970, 125–37; C. Cubitt, 'The Institutional Church', in *Britain and Ireland*, ed. Stafford, 376–94 at 386–9; C. Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *Early Medieval Europe* 6, 1997, 77–94.

⁵⁰ S 906, 1536.

⁵¹ ASC D, s.a. 943 [940]; Sawyer, *Burton*, xl.

had been one of the previous holders of Abbots Bromley (Staffs), recorded in S 878 as having been given to Wulfric by his mother. Wulfsige the Black was active in the same part of the West Midlands as Wulfric and it is tempting, as Peter Sawyer did, to see Wulfsige as Wulfric's maternal grandfather.⁵²

Wulfric, then, was a wealthy, influential and politically well-connected king's thegn on his death, at some point between 1002 and 1004. What was the basis of this wealth and importance, though? In other words, by what process had his family achieved this level of prominence and enjoyment of royal patronage?⁵³ To suggest possible answers to this question, further and more detailed examination of the estates connected with his family is needed, both those listed in his will and those evidenced by charters in the Burton archive. As has already been noted, very little is known about Wulfric's family earlier than c. 940. It is unclear, for instance, what role they might have played in the somewhat shady West Saxon take-over of Mercia following the death of Æthelflæd in 918.⁵⁴ If Wulfsige the Black was Wulfric's grandfather, was he one of the men who, in the words of the Mercian Register, the block of Mercian annals copied into the B and C manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'chose (*gecoren*)' Æthelstan as their king in the summer of 924?⁵⁵ One point can be made, perhaps, which is that at this stage, the family seems to have been rooted in the West Midlands rather than the East, in particular Staffordshire. Wulfrun is connected above all with Wolverhampton, and was captured at nearby Tamworth during Anlaf Guthfrithson's campaign of 940. The three grants to Wulfsige the Black preserved in the Burton archive are also for estates in Staffordshire and western Derbyshire (S 479, 484 and 1606).⁵⁶

The Estates

The argument advanced in this discussion is that some, but by no means all of the estates that feature in Wulfric's will were acquired by his family as a part of a deliberate royal policy of creating a strong lordship in the north-east Midlands, in effect giving Wulfric's family control of key sites in what was a key frontier zone.⁵⁷ What is especially striking about Wulfric's estates is the extent to which, unlike those of other southern English lords, they straddled the Mercian-Northumbrian frontier, with a concentration in northern Mercia and outliers across into Northumbria, such as Conisbrough and Doncaster.⁵⁸ It may be that this accumulation was the family's

⁵² Sawyer, *Burton*, xl.

⁵³ P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: a Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, London 1989, 153.

⁵⁴ Æthelflæd's daughter Ælfwynn was rapidly incarcerated at Wilton by her uncle, Edward the Elder, 'unjustly deprived of authority (*Her eac wearð Æperedes dohtor Myrcna hlaforðes ælces anwealdes on Myrcum benumen*)' as the 'Mercian Register', a set of Mercian-orientated annals copied into the B manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, would have it; see P. Stafford, "'The Annals of Æthelflæd': Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England", in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. J. S. Barrow and A. Wareham, Aldershot 2007, 101–16, 115.

⁵⁵ ASC B (Mercian Register), s.a. 924; Stafford, 'The Annals of Æthelflæd'.

⁵⁶ These charters, whose authenticity is not beyond doubt, cover estates in Alrewas, Abbots Bromley, Barton, Tattenhill, Branston, Stretton, Rolleston, Clifton, Newbold and Haunton (Staffs), and Walton-on-Trent, Coton in the Elms, Cauldwell, Drakelow, Stapenhill, Croxall, Catton and Linton (Derbys).

⁵⁷ See Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 210.

⁵⁸ D. Roffe, 'Barton: The Early History' in *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire*, ed. W. Rodwell with C. Atkins, Oxford 2011, 35–45 at 44.

initiative, but it seems much more likely – especially if we consider the fate of these estates up to 1066 – that this was a royal policy initiated in the aftermath of the events of 940–2; it is highly significant, as Michael Wood noted, that the earliest of these grants to Wulfsgie the Black are dated 942.⁵⁹ In other words, the possibility exists that the kings of the English – probably Edmund or perhaps more likely Eadred – set out to create a strong lordship along the strategically vital frontier with Northumbria and place it in the hands of a reliable aristocratic family.⁶⁰

The problem is, of course, that we have no clear idea of when Wulfric's family acquired the estates listed in his will, including those with which I am concerned in the north and north-east Midlands. These estates are, respectively, the two large estates described in the will as 'between the Ribble and the Mersey (*betwux Ribbel and Mærse*)' and 'in the Wirral (*on Wirhalum*)'; the crossings of the River Don at Doncaster (*æt Doneceastre*) and Conisbrough (*æt Cunugesburh*); and a line of estates along the ancient trackway known as Icknield or Ryknild Street in the Deane valley and on either side of the River Rother, both tributaries of the Don, at Beighton (*æt Bectune*), Wales (*æt Walesho*), Thorpe Salvin (*æt Theogendethorpe*), Whitwell (*æt Hwytewylle*), Clowne (*æt Clune*), Barlborough (*æt Barleburh*), Duckmanton (*æt Ducemannestune*), Mosborough (*æt Moresburh*) and Eckington (*æt Eccingtune*).⁶¹ Some of the estates in the will may have been acquired by Wulfric himself – Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, for instance, was acquired through the forfeiture of another thegn, Æthelsige.⁶² Caution should be exercised here, however; even where there is a surviving charter in favour of Wulfric, such as for Abbots Bromley, in Staffordshire, this does not mean that this estate was a grant *ab initio* to either Wulfric or his family.⁶³ In fact, it seems likely that Abbots Bromley had been held by Wulfric's family since the 940s, since Wulfsgie the Black had also been the beneficiary of a charter for land at Abbots Bromley.⁶⁴

Two of the most remarkable estates listed in Wulfric's will are the lands described simply as in the Wirral (*on Wirhalum*), which may have been, as Peter Sawyer seems to have thought, the entire peninsula, and the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey (*þære landa betwux Ribbel and Mærse*), that is, most of modern West Lancashire, analogous to the hundreds of West Derby, Newton, Leyland, Warrington, Salford and Blackburn in Domesday.⁶⁵ These are enormous blocks of land and, given that the line of the Mersey had been fortified in the first two decades of the tenth century by Æthelflæd and her husband Æthelred, it is tempting to see these estates as a sort of 'march', as geo-political buffers or frontier lordships granted to a trusted family, already well-established in the Midlands, to administer. One might parallel with this the grant by King Æthelstan of another large estate in Lancashire, Amounderness (the land east of the Fylde, to the north of Wulfric's estate), to St Peter's York in 934.⁶⁶ As with the gifts Æthelstan was recorded in chapters 26 and 27 of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* as having given to St Cuthbert's community

⁵⁹ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 210.

⁶⁰ Roffe, 'Derbyshire', 114.

⁶¹ Ryknild Street runs from the Fosse Way near Bourton-on-the-Water (Gloucs) to Templeborough (S. Yorks), now a suburb of Rotherham. Templeborough is the site of a Roman fort a mile from a ford across the River Don.

⁶² S 886; Sawyer, *Burton*, xxiii.

⁶³ S 878.

⁶⁴ S 479.

⁶⁵ S 1536; Sawyer, *Burton*, xxvii.

⁶⁶ S 407, dated 930 but almost certainly dating from 934.

on his march north in 934,⁶⁷ the Amounderness grant was almost certainly aimed at harnessing the support of a key ecclesiastical community in Northumbria; in effect, co-opting them into southern English rule; certainly, Archbishop Hrothweard of York regularly subscribed Æthelstan's charters during the 930s. Although Archbishop Wulfstan of York later supported both Anlaf Guthfrithson and Erik as kings of York during the 940s and 950s, the strategy itself was not necessarily flawed. The parallel that can be drawn between Amounderness and 'betwix Ribbel and Mæse' is that in both cases, significant blocks of territory on the frontier of north-western Mercia were being entrusted to the hands of those whom the kings of the English were attempting to cultivate as part of their strategy for securing English rule in the North.

Turning to Wulfric's property east of the Pennines, both Doncaster and Conisbrough lie on crossings of the River Don in South Yorkshire and were therefore of enormous geographical and strategic significance; Doncaster, in particular, was of importance because it lay across the highest point of the Don accessible to coastal shipping.⁶⁸ The remaining estates in the will, the nine in north Derbyshire, are perhaps less obviously strategically sited, along the line of the River Rother and the ancient trackway known as Ryknield Street. Nevertheless, Ryknield Street links the Don crossing at Templeborough to Derby and was one of the major routes into southern England⁶⁹ and it is perhaps worth noting that the nine estates in Wulfric's will more or less straddle the line of the modern M1 motorway and parallel the main railway line from London to Sheffield. In short, these estates lie along one of the great geopolitical frontiers of early medieval Britain and along one of the main access routes from the north into southern England. It is possible, if no more, that this was the route taken by Anlaf Githfrithson's forces in 940, which might explain the granting of estates along this route to Wulfric's family in the years after Edmund's reconquest of northern Mercia. It is tempting to see, therefore, these estates as a more or less consolidated bloc granted by the king to the family of Wulfsige, Wulfrun and Wulfric as, in effect, royal agents in the North Midlands. Although the first reference we have to the lands in the Wirral and 'between the Ribble and Mersey' is in Wulfric's will, it would seem most likely that Wulfric's family had acquired these estates in the late 940s or early 950s.

This impression that these North Midlands estates constitute a discrete lordship, or perhaps two lordships, is further confirmed by consideration of Wulfric's will and the destination of these estates in the years after Wulfric's death. The estates were split between Wulfric's brother, Ælfhelm, ealdorman of York, Ælfhelm's son Wulfheah, and Morcar, whose wife Ealdgyth was probably Wulfric's granddaughter.⁷⁰ Both these branches of Wulfric's family had very mixed fortunes in the following decade. In 1006, Ealdorman Ælfhelm was killed and his sons Wulfheah and Ufegeat blinded on the king's orders, ostensibly on the grounds of the ealdorman's treasonable behaviour.⁷¹ What this behaviour was is unclear, although given the weakness of English royal power in Northumbria, it may be that Ælfhelm was guilty of little more than cosying up to the Anglo-Scandinavian aristocracy in York and Northum-

⁶⁷ *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: a History of St Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony*, ed. E. Johnson South, Cambridge 2002, 64–67, 108–110.

⁶⁸ Parker, 'Doncaster', 29.

⁶⁹ Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', 206.

⁷⁰ S 1536; Sawyer, *Burton*, xxii.

⁷¹ ASC D, s.a. 1006; see C. Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship in Early Eleventh-Century Mercia', *Midland History* 25, 2000, 28–42 at 30–2.

bria as a means of bolstering his position as ealdorman north of the Humber.⁷² The kings of the English alternated between imposing outsiders and legitimizing local dynasts as a means of ruling northern England, neither with conspicuous success. However, Ælfhelm's treason is likely to be something of a distraction; as Simon Keynes convincingly argued, Ælfhelm's demise was part of a wider power shift at court which saw the eclipse of the clique around the king, of which Wulfric and Ælfhelm had been part, by a new clique centred on Eadric Streona and the Leofwineson dynasty, both arguably rivals of Wulfric's family in the Midlands.⁷³ Despite the eclipse of Ælfhelm's branch of the family after 1006, Sigferth and Morcar continued to enjoy a measure of royal favour. Both were beneficiaries in the will of the Atheling Æthelstan who died in around 1014.⁷⁴ Morcar, in particular, did well between 1009 and 1012, receiving at least three separate grants from Æthelred II.⁷⁵ Significantly, given the suggestion that Wulfric's family was deliberately entrusted with property in northern Mercia, the estates Morcar received – Weston, Morley, Smalley, Kidsley, Crich, Ingleby, *Ufre* and Eckington – were all in north Derbyshire, close to the estates bequeathed by Wulfric.⁷⁶

However, within three years, Morcar and his brother Sigferth also fell foul of this clique. Events culminated in the murder of the two thegns at Cookham in May 1015 followed by the seizure and incarceration of Sigferth's widow, named by the Worcester Chronicler as Ealdgyth, at Malmesbury by King Æthelred.⁷⁷ The sequel to this event, the abduction and marriage of Ealdgyth by Æthelred's eldest surviving son Edmund is well known, and highlights the continuing local importance of Wulfric's family, as does Cnut's liaison with Ælfhelm's daughter, Ælfgifu of Northampton.⁷⁸

By 1066, significant parts of the estates on the river Don, plus the Wirral and West Lancashire were either in the hands of the crown or the two major comital dynasties in the north, the families of Earl Ælfgar and Earl Tostig. Earl Edwin held land on the Wirral, while West Derby, Newton, Leyland, Salford, Warrington and Blackburn all belonged to King Edward. Conisbrough was in the hands of Earl Harold, Doncaster in those of his brother Tostig.⁷⁹ Peter Sawyer suggested that the transmission of some of these estates to the family of Earl Ælfgar was based on kinship, on the possibility that Earl Ælfgar was married to the daughter of Morcar and Ealdgyth.⁸⁰ There is no way of proving or disproving this, but the argument posited here is that the concentration of these estates in the hands of the crown and two key families was not simply an accident of kinship, but deliberate, and that these estates retained an important function in terms of controlling the Northumbrian/Mercian frontier.

⁷² Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, 60–1; Keynes, *Diplomas*, 209–13.

⁷³ Keynes, *Diplomas*, 213; Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship', 32–3.

⁷⁴ S 1503; Whitelock, *AS Wills*, no. 20.

⁷⁵ S 922, 924, 927; Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship', 33.

⁷⁶ Sawyer (*Burton*, 67) argues that *Ufre* is Mickleover, north of Derby.

⁷⁷ ASC, C, D, s.a. 1015; John of Worcester, II, 478–81; Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship', 32–5. Sawyer, *Burton*, xxiii, notes the possible confusion here: Morcar was married to Ealdgyth, probably Wulfric's niece. However, the Worcester chronicler names Sigferth's widow also as Ealdgyth. Either the two brothers had married women with the same name or, more plausibly, the Worcester chronicler got the wrong widow; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not name Sigferth's widow.

⁷⁸ Insley, 'Politics and Kinship', 37.

⁷⁹ GDB, 262v, 269v, 307v, 321.

⁸⁰ Sawyer, *Burton*, xliii–xlv.

To return to Wulfric's will briefly, all of these estates, including the large number which were bequeathed to Burton abbey, were all treated as bookland, that is, freely heritable. Is it possible that, in the case of these northern estates, this does not mask a rather more precarial arrangement, where there was an element of royal control over these estates? Might this also be the explanation for the two grants of Bromley, to Wulfsige the Black and subsequently to Wulfric? It is worth remembering that wills, especially those of such an important magnate as Wulfric, ultimately needed royal sanction for their effect. That this was not automatically forthcoming is evidenced by the near-contemporary wrangle over the will of the Essex thegn Æthelric of Bocking, whose widow ultimately enlisted the agency of Archbishop Sigeric to secure her dower.⁸¹ It seems plausible, therefore, to suggest that Æthelred had a measure of say over to whom Wulfric bequeathed these estates; it also possible that what might appear to be simple bookland might actually be, as has already been suggested, some form of *precaria*.

Conclusion

Inevitably, whether one thinks Wulfric was a marcher lord, or whether his family were a marcher dynasty ultimately depends on one's definition of 'march'. The North Midlands was certainly a contested zone in the middle years of the tenth century, as kings of the English from Æthelstan onwards sought to expand their authority into Northumbria. It was also, to a lesser or greater extent, a militarized frontier, with fortifications along the line of the Mersey and the Humber/Don. In addition, it was a frontier between different legal customs, different dialects and even languages. It was not, though, a march in the sense that might be understood for the Welsh or Scottish borders a few centuries later, with strongly seigneurial lordship, an absence of direct royal presence, distinct legal customs and even a distinct socio-legal identity. In this respect, it was perhaps rather more like the Norman frontier in the eleventh and twelfth centuries described by Power, with strong royal control over a frontier zone, in this case mediated through an important magnate family.⁸² If this is the case, then it allows a glimpse of what is rather a sophisticated strategy devised by the kings of the English to control the North Midlands in the middle years of the tenth century. The administrative and judicial structure of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire that can be seen in Domesday Book suggests that, in terms of local judicial administration, the crown empowered local communities at the expense of local landowners.⁸³ However, right on that frontier, across the Humber zone, the crown seems to have followed an alternative strategy of entrusting significant blocs of land to key families and institutions whose loyalty to southern rule, presumably, was seen as absolute.

There may, in part, be a parallel here with one of the few surviving examples of Anglo-Saxon frontier management, the so-called 'Ordinance of the Dunsæte'. Opinion is divided over exactly what the ordinance constitutes, whether it is a purely local arrangement, or something more formal and royally sanctioned; it is also uncertain just who the Dunsæte were. In a recent article, though, Michael

⁸¹ S 939, 1501.

⁸² See Roffe, 'The Danes and the Making of the Kingdom of the English', 42–3, on the likely pre-Scandinavian origins of local administration in the North Midlands.

⁸³ Roffe, 'Derbyshire', 110–11.

Fordham places the ordinance squarely in the context of the rapid expansion of the English kingdom in the tenth century and the evolving relationship between centre and periphery.⁸⁴ Fordham makes a convincing case for regarding the ordinance not as a written record of a long-established local border arrangement, but something much more contingent on the political developments of the earlier tenth century and ultimately royally sanctioned.⁸⁵ Perhaps what may have happened in the North Midlands in the middle of the tenth century is similar – in general outline if not detail – in that what can be glimpsed are the kings of the English consciously managing frontier relationships in a highly fluid political landscape, rather than abdicating all responsibility to local elites. Ultimately, none of this is knowable, and the argument articulated in this essay hangs on the slenderest of evidential threads. Nevertheless, it is perhaps an interesting way of shedding light on the way in which the rapidly expanding kingdom of the English in the tenth century managed the more diffuse edges of its political power.

⁸⁴ M. Fordham, 'Peacekeeping and Order on the Anglo-Welsh Frontier in the Early Tenth Century', *Midland History* 32, 2007, 1–18.

⁸⁵ Fordham, 'Peacekeeping and Order', 5–11, 14–17; for the 'localist' perspective, see P. Squatriti, 'Offa's Dyke between Nature and Culture', *Environmental History* 9, 2004, 37–56.

THE BURIAL OF KING ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY AT ST PAUL'S

Simon Keynes

In the late summer of 1015 Cnut, brother of Harold, king of the Danes, brought a fleet to Sandwich, in north-eastern Kent, and set out from there on the campaign which had led by the close of the following year to his accession as king of the whole of England. In the midst of the Danish invasion, and after a reign of over 38 years, Æthelred, king of the English, died at London on St George's Day (23 April) 1016.¹ The notice of Æthelred's death in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle adds that 'he had held his kingdom with great toil and difficulties as long as his life lasted'; and we learn from later sources that Æthelred was buried with all due honour in the church of St Paul. A modern visitor to St Paul's Cathedral is unlikely to have gone there in search of the tomb of King Æthelred the Unready, and, if he had, would not find it. The tomb was lost when the medieval cathedral was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666, though Æthelred's name is to be found on a modern inscribed stone, set up on a wall of the café in the crypt, which replaces all the memorials known to have been lost in the conflagration. It is more likely, therefore, that a modern visitor would go to St Paul's for Nelson and Wellington, or for the granite slab marking the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, beneath its famous inscription: 'Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice'. Perhaps, in the absence of his own tomb, the spirit of King Æthelred might be permitted to echo the same advice on behalf of himself: 'If you seek a monument, look around you'. The sentiment is not as preposterous as it might seem. The first of Anglo-Saxon kings known to have been buried in St Paul's was Sebbi, king of the East Saxons in the late seventh century, whose last days and whose obsequies are described in some detail by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.² The fact that King Æthelred was buried in St Paul's as king 'of the English', in the midst of the Danish invasions, encapsulates a basic truth about the development of London in the Anglo-Saxon period, and its emergence by the end of the tenth century as the focal point for the political and economic interests of the late Anglo-Saxon state. The point could be made in other ways, with more substantive forms of evidence; but in effect, Æthelred was the first of his line who could have looked others in the face and said 'I am a Londoner.'

¹ A. Williams, *Æthelred the Unready: the Ill-Counselled King*, London 2003, 139–40. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to offer a paper on King Æthelred to one who has ventured over much of the same ground.

² Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* [hereafter Bede, *HE*], iv. 11 (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, 364–8).

Royal Inaugurations and Burials

The notion of a 'resting-place' is commonly associated with the cults of saints, which arose at the place where a saint lay buried, or to which the saint was translated, attracting those in need to visit the shrine and to pray for the saint's help.³ A cult might be symbolized locally by a tomb, a shrine, or an effigy in the church; while knowledge of the cult was spread by the production of a saint's Life, and the interest it generated reflected for example in the adoption of a saint's feast-day, or in the acquisition of relics. Of course kings had a certain sanctity of their own, and commanded forms of respect after their lifetimes, if not in quite the same way. It might not have counted where a king was born, or where a king died, or where his successor was 'elected'; but it might have counted where a king was formally inaugurated as king, and where he was buried. The place chosen for a king's coronation, and attendant rituals (including the king's oath), was bound to be of as much interest to the secular order as it was to the archbishop(s) of the day and to other members of the ecclesiastical order. Any king might have given instructions or expressed wishes for his place of burial; and while the issue might have been affected by the place of the king's death (especially when unexpected), under ordinary circumstances the choice of burial-place would probably reflect an association which had existed between the king and a particular religious house.⁴ Complications might arise, in the case of inaugurations as well as burials, from the fact that such events took place at what were of their nature times of political transition, and one should always bear in mind that even the best laid plans depended for their implementation on those who remained in positions of power, and could be diverted by those with agendas of their own.⁵ At all events, we may be sure that such things mattered, both to the king himself and to many other interested parties.⁶

The problem is that the fact and so the place of a king's inauguration, and the fact and so the place of his burial, appear in some circumstances to have fallen outside the record, like other natural and expected events, such as the movements of the king and his itinerant household from one place to another, and the convening of royal assemblies at specified places and times during the course of a year. The compilers of the so-called 'common stock' of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which is to say the original 'Alfredian' compilation up to and including the annal for 892, might have assumed that from some point most or all kings underwent a form of

³ For the Old English tract on the resting-places of saints, see D. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 7, 1978, 61–93, and *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26, Copenhagen 1996, 99–101.

⁴ The designation of a particular church as the intended burial-place for kings is attested already in the early seventh century by King Æthelberht's foundation of the church of SS Peter and Paul (later St Augustine's abbey), Canterbury, for the archbishops of Canterbury in significant association with the kings of Kent; see Bede, *HE*, i. 33 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 114); *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. S. E. Kelly [hereafter *CantStA*], Anglo-Saxon Charters 4, Oxford 1995, xiii.

⁵ It must have been common for plans to be thwarted. King Eadred was seemingly not buried where he had intended (below, 135–6). Sideman, bishop of Crediton, had wished to be buried in his own see, but circumstances dictated that he was buried at Abingdon (ASC B and C, *s.a.* 977). In 1005 Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, was buried at Abingdon, having expected to be buried at Canterbury; to be discussed further in S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas 975–1016: from the Accession of King Edward the Martyr to the Death of King Æthelred the Unready* (forthcoming).

⁶ For valuable and wide ranging discussion of the burial-places of pre-Conquest kings (and family members), see A. Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder's Sainted Kindred', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill, London 2001, 248–63. See also A. Dodson, *The Royal Tombs of Great Britain: an Illustrated History*, London 2004, 17–49, and D. Palliser, *Royal Bones* (forthcoming).

ceremonial inauguration, but they (the compilers) chose to make something of it in only two cases. The annal for 787 reads: 'In this year there was a contentious synod at Chelsea, and Archbishop Jænberht lost a certain part of his province, and Hygeberht was chosen by King Offa. And Ecgrith was consecrated king.' The annal is suffused with deeper meaning; but it must suffice here to say that it signifies awareness of what was involved.⁷ The notion (or wishful thought) that Alfred, son of Æthelwulf, had been consecrated king by Pope Leo, when on his first visit to Rome, as a child, in 853, testifies if nothing else to the perception in Alfredian circles that Alfred had been destined for kingship and had indeed been inaugurated to that office by no less a person than the pope, in no less a place than Rome. One doubts that anyone could have been so bold, in the 870s; but by the mid-880s the position was very different, and Alfred's political aspirations were finding expression in his designation as king 'of the Anglo-Saxons', and soon afterwards as ruler of 'all the Christians of the island of Britain'.⁸ The compilers of the common stock seem to have made it their business, at the same time, to record with some degree of consistency where the more recent kings of the West Saxons, from Cynewulf to Æthelred I, had been buried; and one can imagine that for their readers the details told a story of their own. Cynewulf (d. 786) was buried at Winchester (and his opponent Cyneheard, killed shortly afterwards, at Axminster). Brihtric (d. 802) was buried at Wareham. The annal for 839 begins with the death of Ecgrberht, but then the annalist seems to have been distracted by other matters, and the place of the late king's burial was taken as if for granted; bones supposed to be Ecgrberht's are to be found at Winchester. Ecgrberht's son Æthelwulf (d. 858) was buried at Winchester (possibly moved there from Steyning); though his sons Æthelbald (d. 860) and Æthelberht (d. 865) were buried at Sherborne, and Æthelred (d. 871) at Wimborne (Sherborne in MS. C).⁹

As might be expected, the various compilers of the annals and sets of annals which in combination make up the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the late ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries present a more complex picture.¹⁰ Royal inaugurations appear in general to have been taken for granted, as if a record would arise only when the circumstances or the timing or indeed the location made the event in itself worthy of attention; and in the case of burials, the usual practice, if it could be described as such, was to record the fact of a king's death without further details, and then to identify his successor.¹¹ The inference is not, perhaps, that royal inaugurations and

⁷ S. Keynes, 'The Kingdom of the Mercians in the Eighth Century', *Æthelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, ed. D. Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 383, Oxford 2005, 1–26 at 15–16.

⁸ For a wide-ranging discussion of Alfred's political aspirations, see D. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Cambridge 2007, esp. 105–7 (kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons) and 107–11 (Britain).

⁹ Æthelred's son Æthelwold took a stand at Wimborne in 900, reflecting its continued association with his branch of the dynasty. A King Sigefrith was buried at Wimborne in 962. A medieval memorial brass to Æthelred, at Wimborne, has a later inscription describing him as a martyr, killed in battle against the Danes (Dodson, *Royal Tombs*, 34–5). For West Saxon burials in the ninth and tenth centuries, see also Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries', 250–7.

¹⁰ For some recent discussion, see N. Brooks, 'Why is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle about Kings?', *ASE* 39, 2011 for 2010, 43–70, and S. Keynes, 'Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, I: c. 600–1100*, ed. R. Gameson, Cambridge 2011, 537–52, with diagram, 542.

¹¹ There are no records of royal inaugurations, and no records of royal burials, in any of the 'main' annals which constitute the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the tenth century until one reaches the (second) coronation of Edgar in 973, the burial of Edward 'without any royal honours' in 979, and the (delayed)

places of burial were of little importance, but that they happened not to be the kind of detail accorded space in the written record unless of particular moment. One has only to consider the near-contemporary accounts of the obsequies of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, in 984, and of Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, in 992, provided in the earliest Lives of these saints, written within a few years of each other, before and after the year 1000, to appreciate the significance of such events;¹² interestingly, the obsequies of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, in 988, are not accorded the same treatment, perhaps because the author of that Life had not witnessed them himself.¹³ The analogies are there for the pressing, whether for the ceremonial itself or for the significance of burial-place and tomb.¹⁴ It remained for later chroniclers, more interested in such matters for their own sake, to reconstruct the details. Information about royal inaugurations might have been available to those who sought it out, if the details were not generally known;¹⁵ and since burials of their nature left traces, and generated traditions, it might not have been difficult for those who came after to gather the requisite information. An early stage in the collection and transmission of such information can be discerned, perhaps, in the common source which appears to lie behind the Worcester Latin Chronicle and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*;¹⁶ a later stage is represented by the works of Ralph de Diceto, who was active at St Paul's towards the end of the twelfth century.¹⁷

A review of the period from the death of Alfred the Great (899) to the death of Edward the Martyr (978) suggests how, in respect of inaugurations and burials, the

coronation of Æthelred also in 979. A record of Æthelflæd's burial, at Gloucester, is prominent in the 'Mercian Register'; the same source registers not only the burials of Edward and Ælfweard at Winchester, but also that Æthelstan was 'chosen' by the Mercians and consecrated (later) at Kingston. Eadred's burial at the 'Old Minster' (Winchester) is noted in the 'Northern Recension'. Edgar's burial at Glastonbury is mentioned in connection with the burial of Edmund Ironside there in 1016.

¹² Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* [hereafter WW, *VSÆ*], ch. 41 (*Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, Oxford 1991, 2–69 at 62–4); and Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* [hereafter BR, *VSO*], v.17–19 (*Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. M. Lapidge, Oxford 2009, 2–203 at 192–6).

¹³ B, *Vita S. Dunstani* [hereafter B, *VSD*], ch. 38 (*The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, Oxford 2011, 2–109 at 104–9; cf. lxxiii–lxxiv); see also Adelard of Ghent, *Lectioes in Depositione S. Dunstani*, *Lectio* xi (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 112–45 at 138–40).

¹⁴ For the funeral of a layman who had died whilst attending a royal assembly during Edgar's reign, see BR, *VSO*, iii.13 (ed. Lapidge, 80–2); and for that of Ealdorman Æthelwine, in 992, see BR, *VSO*, v.21 (ed. Lapidge, 198–200).

¹⁵ There are indications that records were kept at Canterbury, and perhaps also in the king's household, of the exact date of a king's coronation, used, for example, for the calculation of a regnal year (for a charter), or for working out the length of a king's reign (for a regnal list). Any such record might also have given the name of the officiating archbishop: for Æthelm, at the coronation of Æthelstan, see Adelard, *Lectio* iii (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 118); and for Oda, at the coronations of Eadred and Eadwig, at Kingston, see the Worcester Latin Chronicle, John of Worcester, *s.a.* 946 and 955, pp. 398–400 and 404; but of course the archbishop's name could have been worked out in other ways.

¹⁶ John of Worcester; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*. For the putative common source, see S. Keynes and R. Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', *ASE* 38, 2009, 185–223 at 202–3, with references.

¹⁷ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 68, 1876, I, 3–263 (*Abbreviationes Chronicorum*), and II, 231–9 (*De Saxonibus*). For the *Abbreviationes*, see London, BL Cotton Claudius E. iii, esp. fols. 31r–48r. The principal manuscript of Ralph's *opuscula* (St Paul's, c. 1195) is now London, BL Add. 40007 (*ibid.*, I, xcvi–xcviii), with the tract *De Saxonibus* at fols. 20r–23r. For an account of Ralph de Diceto, with references, see the entry on him by John Mason in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7591>, accessed 24/01/2012, and D. E. Greenway, 'Historical Writing at St Paul's', in *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London 604–2004*, ed. D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint, New Haven and London 2004, 151–6.

picture continued to develop in the tenth century. By the 890s the time was ripe for a new beginning, which found expression in King Alfred's own plans for the building of a minster immediately adjacent to the bishop's see at Winchester.¹⁸ When Alfred died, on 28 October 899, the work was still in progress; he was therefore buried in the cathedral, and his son Edward the Elder (899–924) continued work on the building of the 'new' minster, said to have been intended 'for royal purposes'.¹⁹ Edward was crowned after some delay on Whitsunday (8 June) 900,²⁰ presumably as king 'of the Anglo-Saxons' (a style by which he was known), and conceivably the first of several coronations to take place in the tenth century at Kingston-upon-Thames.²¹ As soon as the building work at Winchester was completed, in 902, Alfred's ashes (*cineres*) were re-buried in the chapel which had been made ready for them in the New Minster; and it must have been at about the same time that the body, or ashes, of Alfred's wife Ealhswith (d. 902) were buried in the same place.²² Interestingly, there is evidence from some time later in Edward's reign that a certain Helmstan, who had been pronounced an outlaw, 'sought' King Alfred's tomb at Winchester and was there furnished with evidence, in the form of a seal (perhaps associated with a written document), which he then showed to Ealdorman Ordlafe, who gave it to King Edward at Chippenham, whereupon the king removed Helmstan's outlawry.²³ Meanwhile, the New Minster continued to serve as a royal mausoleum: for Alfred's younger son, Æthelweard, who died on 16 October '922' (? for 920);²⁴ for Edward himself, who died on 17 July 924;²⁵ and for his son Ælfweard, who died at Oxford

¹⁸ The primary source is the *Prefatio constructionis uuintoniensis monasterii quod nouum nuncupatur* [hereafter *Prefatio CWMN*], which serves as the preface to the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (London, BL Stowe 944, fols. 8r–12v), printed in *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. W. de G. Birch, Hampshire Record Society 5, London 1892, 3–11, but which may have originated as a preface to an earlier work of a similar kind. An edition of the text, with translation and commentary, is in preparation; see also *Liber Vitae*, ed. Keynes, 16–19 and 81–2, with facsimile.

¹⁹ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 4–5). For Alfred's burial, see also John of Worcester, *s.a.* 901, p. 354, and Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 124, pp. 194–6.

²⁰ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell, London 1962, 51.

²¹ All four of the 'located' tenth-century coronations – those of Æthelstan (925), Eadred (946), Eadwig (955/6), and Æthelred (979) – are said to have been held at Kingston; and one might suppose that some or all of the 'unlocated' coronations – those of Edward (900), Edmund (939), Edgar (c. 960), and Edward (975) – were held at the same place. See S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' (978–1016)*, Cambridge 1980, 270–1, with 'Kingston', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, *et al.*, Oxford 1999, 272, and S. Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. Higham and Hill, 40–66 at 48. For Kingston, see also Pratt, *Political Thought*, 45–8 and 74–5. The authority of Ralph de Diceto in this respect has been challenged, not without good reason, by N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066*, London 2000, 101–54 at 129 n. 62, echoed by J. Nelson, 'The First Use of the Second Anglo-Saxon *Ordo*', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. J. Barrow and A. Wareham, Aldershot 2008, 117–26 at 122 n. 27; see also S. Foot, *King Æthelstan*, New Haven 2011, 74 n. 46. It is possible that Ralph had access to reliable information (above, n. 15); though it must be said that if he had known of any coronation of Edgar, c. 960, it was eclipsed by the event at Bath in 973.

²² *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 5–6).

²³ S. Keynes, 'The Fonthill Letter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. M. Korhammer, Cambridge 1992, 53–97 at 88–9, with reference to further discussion. See also N. Marafioti, 'Alfred's Tomb as Political Object in the Reign of Edward the Elder', forthcoming.

²⁴ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 6), mistaken in retrospect for a son of Edward. See also John of Worcester, *s.a.* 922, p. 382; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 130, p. 204.

²⁵ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 6). See also (ed. Darlington and McGurk, *s.a.* 924, p. 384), and Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 130, p. 204.

on 2 August 924, and who was regarded in certain quarters as a king.²⁶ There is reason to suppose that the accession of Edward's eldest son Æthelstan represented a change of direction in the dynastic politics of the early tenth century.²⁷ It would appear that he was 'elected' by the Mercians, perhaps in opposition to Ælfweard, or perhaps in implementation of a division of the kingdom which had been expected or intended. Whatever the case, Ælfweard's untimely death changed the situation; and after an extended delay, itself obviously of some significance, Æthelstan was crowned king, at Kingston, on 4 September 925.²⁸ As in the case of Edward the Elder, there is reason to suppose that he would have been inaugurated as 'king of the Anglo-Saxons'. However, this position was short-lived, for in 927 Æthelstan moved north, and was acknowledged as king 'of the English'.²⁹ Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that Æthelstan might not have been fully at ease with the 'Winchester' associations of his father's rule, and turned elsewhere, as it were, for religious support. Two of the king's cousins, Ælfwine and Æthelwine, sons of Edward the Elder's younger brother Æthelweard (buried at the New Minster), both of whom are said to have died at the battle of *Brunanburh* in 937, were on Æthelstan's instructions buried at Malmesbury, 'at the head of St Aldhelm's tomb'.³⁰ Æthelstan himself died at Gloucester on 27 October 939; in accordance with his instructions, his body was taken in state to Malmesbury, and buried there beneath the high altar.³¹

The twenty-year period from Æthelstan's death, in 939, to Edgar's accession, in 959, embraced the reigns of Edmund (939–946), Eadred (946–955) and Eadwig (955–959). The familiar story of these years is derived in large part from the Lives of St Æthelwold (d. 984), St Dunstan (d. 988), and St Oswald (d. 992), supplementing the skeletal annals transmitted in surviving manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; though it is also a period for which the evidence of royal diplomas, vernacular charters, law-codes, and coinage, when integrated with all other forms of evidence, suggests deeper dimensions and all manner of complications. Edmund was inaugurated presumably in 939, conceivably at Kingston; but it is not clear whether in other symbolic respects the time had come for a return to Edward the Elder's Winchester. Edmund was killed at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on 26 May 946, by a certain Leofa;³² the fact that the king's body was taken from there

²⁶ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 6), with indication of higher status; the version of the West Saxon regnal table in the *Textus Roffensis* assigns him a reign of four weeks.

²⁷ B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke, Woodbridge 1988, 65–88 at 71–3; *Liber Vitae*, ed. Keynes, 19–22; *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller, Anglo-Saxon Charters 9, Oxford 2001 [hereafter *WinchNM*], xxv–xxx; *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 11, Oxford 2005, 21–2; Foot, *Æthelstan*, 38–41.

²⁸ ASC B, C, D (Mercian Register), s.a. 924, with S 394 (*CantStA* 26). Anglo-Saxon charters are cited in accordance with the conventions explained on the 'Kemble' website (www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk).

²⁹ ASC D (Northern Annals), s.a. 927, supplemented by the charters of the scribe known as 'Æthelstan A', by the poem *Carta dirige gressus*, as reconstructed by Michael Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9, 1980, 61–98, reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, London 1993, 49–86 at 71–81, and by Æthelstan's coinage.

³⁰ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 135.6, pp. 220, 136, 222; see also Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, 592.

³¹ John of Worcester, s.a. 939, p. 394, and Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 140, p. 228, with Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, v. 246, p. 594.

³² The 'main' chronicle reports simply the fact of the king's death (26 May 946). The primary record is thus B, *VSDi*, chs. 19 and 31–3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 60–1 and 94–7); see also ASC D (Northern Annals), s.a. 946, and John of Worcester, s.a. 946, p. 398.

southwards to Glastonbury, in Somerset, for burial in the abbey by Abbot Dunstan, presumably reflected the circumstances (i.e. the location) in which the king had died.³³ The case of King Eadred is especially intriguing, or perplexing. He had been crowned, at Kingston, in the summer of 946.³⁴ He is said to have had a particular affection for Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and to have entrusted the best of his possessions (including land-charters, old treasures of preceding kings, and valuables he had acquired himself) to the abbot for safe-keeping at Glastonbury.³⁵ The king suffered badly from an illness which affected his ability to swallow food. When he felt his death to be approaching, he gave instructions for the recovery of those possessions which he had previously entrusted to others, so that he could make the necessary arrangements for their distribution (presumably by means of a will). Dunstan set off (evidently from the king's presence) to fetch the stuff which had been in his own keeping (at Glastonbury). While he was on his way back to the king, heavily laden with whatever it was that he had, the king died; and after his arrival (where the king lay), the king's body was committed for burial.³⁶ Eadred is said on good authority to have died on 23 November 955, at Frome in Somerset;³⁷ he is also said to have been buried at the 'Old Minster', evidently with reference to Winchester.³⁸ A reading of Eadred's will suggests that he had wished or expected to be buried at some place other than Winchester (perhaps Glastonbury or Abingdon),³⁹ in which case it might appear that his wishes (and even the will itself) were overruled by those who took control of affairs in the aftermath of his death.⁴⁰ Matters are further complicated by Adelard of Ghent, who in his *lectiones* on Dunstan (written in the early eleventh century) indicates that while the others present (at Frome?) had no wish to be involved, Dunstan and those with him took Eadred's body, and gave

³³ John of Worcester, *s.a.* 946, p.398; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 145.3, p.232. The estate at Pucklechurch is described in *VSD* as a royal estate, though it would appear to have been given to Glastonbury by Edmund himself (S 1724); for the complex history of the estate, and associated documentation, see L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment*, Woodbridge 1996, 211–14.

³⁴ The evidence for Eadred's coronation at Kingston is a charter, belonging to the distinctive group of 'alliterative' charters, by which King Eadred had granted land in Northamptonshire to his thegn Wulfric. The charter (S 520, printed in BCS 815, and translated in *EHD*, I, no. 105) was formerly preserved at Worcester in its original single-sheet form, but the original is now lost.

³⁵ B, *VSD*, ch. 19 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 60). For further discussion of Dunstan's role in Eadred's reign, see S. Keynes, 'The "Dunstan B" Charters', *ASE* 23, 1994, 165–93 at 185–90.

³⁶ B, *VSD*, ch. 20 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 64). One is left wondering what might have become of the royal treasures (title-deeds, etc.) which Dunstan had with him; and one can imagine, under these circumstances, what problems or suspicions might have arisen as power passed to those in closest association with Eadwig.

³⁷ ASC A (Winchester Annals), *s.a.* 955 (date and place of death); for the date, see also WW, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ch. 13 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 24–5).

³⁸ ASC D (Northern Annals), *s.a.* 955 ('he rests in the Old Minster'); John of Worcester, *s.a.* 955, p.404; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 146.2, p.236.

³⁹ For Eadred and Abingdon, see WW, *VSAE*, ch. 11 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 18–22); for Eadred and Glastonbury, see B, *VSD*, ch. 19 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 60). For Eadred and the Old Minster, Winchester, see WW, *VSAE*, ch. 10 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 16–18).

⁴⁰ S 1515 (*WinchNM* 17). For this interpretation of Eadred's will, see Keynes, 'The "Dunstan B" Charters', 188–90 at 188 n. 99; *idem*, 'England, 900–1016', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II: c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, 456–84 at 474–6; and *WinchNM*, 78–81. It is possible that on his deathbed at Frome, in November 955, Eadred made arrangements which superseded those set out in an earlier written will; and one can imagine, under the circumstances, that there was much confusion.

it a proper burial (as he had done for Edmund), before returning to Glastonbury.⁴¹ It is difficult to reach a clear understanding of the circumstances surrounding Eadred's death in November 955; but one senses that this was a significant moment of crisis in high circles, and that it found expression in arrangements for the king's burial (the initial burial by Dunstan, and the subsequent removal of his body to Winchester). His successor Eadwig was crowned king, at Kingston, in late 955 or early 956.⁴² About 18 months later, in the summer of 957, the kingdom of the English was divided along the line of the river Thames, confirming the river's continued importance during the period, in the tenth century, when the inaugurations of successive kings 'of the Anglo-Saxons' and kings 'of the English' were held at Kingston. Eadwig died on 1 October 959, 'mourned with many tears of his people', and was buried at the New Minster, Winchester.⁴³

King Edgar (959–975) was probably crowned soon after the beginning of his reign as king 'of the English', in late 959 or early 960, perhaps, like at least three of his predecessors, and one of his successors, at Kingston-upon-Thames.⁴⁴ Edgar's charter for the New Minster, Winchester, issued in 966, reveals that a distinction was recognized (by some) between his 'legitimate' wife (Ælfthryth) and an earlier wife who by implication was considered not to be legitimate, which found expression in a further distinction between a younger son (Edmund) who was legitimate and an elder son (Edward) who by implication was not.⁴⁵ As it happened, the (legitimate) younger son died about five years later, and was buried at Romsey abbey.⁴⁶ Edgar's supposedly 'delayed' coronation, at Pentecost (11 May), in 973, earned its place in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in part (one imagines) because it was a *second* coronation, in part because it celebrated his kingship of Britain, and in part because it was held at Bath (a place with pertinent associations of its own). Edgar died on 8 July 975, and was buried at Glastonbury.⁴⁷ It may be that Edgar had died somewhere in the west country; whatever the case, one suspects that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, had been able to control the obsequies, in what might well have been contentious circumstances, and that Winchester was no longer felt to be the place which it might once have been. Edgar's eldest son Edward (975–978), although considered not to be 'legitimate' by the draftsman of the New Minster charter in 966, was recognized as king in the aftermath of his father's death, seemingly with Dunstan's support. A calendar-entry for an *electio S. Eadwardi regis*, on 19 July,

⁴¹ Adelard, *Lectiones* v–vi (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 122–4), enlarging significantly on B's account, but leaving it unclear *where* Eadred's body was buried at this stage, though with the suggestion that it was not at Frome or at Glastonbury.

⁴² B, *VSD*, chs. 21–2 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 66–70). For the location, see John of Worcester, *s.a.* 955, p. 404, which may have authority in this respect.

⁴³ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 7). See also . Darlington and McGurk, *s.a.* 959, p.408; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 147.4, p. 238.

⁴⁴ For Edgar's (hypothetical) first coronation, and for what might then be regarded as his second, see J. L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood, Leeds 1977, 50–71, reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, London 1986, 283–307, esp. 297–300.

⁴⁵ S 745 (*WinchNM* 23); the charter is edited with translation by A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies 4.iii, Oxford 2002, 65–97.

⁴⁶ ASC A, 971 (the entry was subsequently erased, although not before the copying of MS G from MS A, and so not before the early eleventh century); see also S 812 (BCS 1187). For Romsey in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries, see *Liber Vitae*, ed. Keynes, 96.

⁴⁷ *Prefatio CWMN* (ed. Birch, 8–9). Edgar's burial at Glastonbury was seemingly not recorded for its own sake in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; but it is mentioned retrospectively in ASC, *s.a.* 1016; see also John of Worcester, *s.a.* 975, p. 424, and Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 160.1, p. 260.

relates conceivably to an occasion in July 975, and so within a fortnight of Edgar's death, on which those left in positions of power and influence were able to secure his son Edward's accession against supporters of the younger half-brother Æthelred.⁴⁸ Edward was crowned by Archbishop Dunstan, probably at Kingston, shortly thereafter, inaugurating what proved to be a short and difficult reign. He was killed at Corfe Gap, in Dorset, on 18 March 978. His killers burnt or concealed the king's body, in a nearby bog; and one can well imagine that his initial burial (or disposal), 'without royal honours', soon became a matter of great concern. In early February 979 Edward's body was miraculously revealed, exhumed and re-buried at Wareham (13 February), and a few days later removed with great honour and ceremony to its resting-place at Shaftesbury (18 February); both events were duly recorded in versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.⁴⁹ The coronation of Edward's half-brother Æthelred, at Kingston, on 4 May 979, was in straightforward continuation of all that had gone before.⁵⁰

The Burial of King Æthelred at St Paul's

It may be that by the end of the tenth century, the impact of all that had come to be associated in the past fifty years with the work of St Dunstan (d. 988), St Æthelwold (d. 984), and others, not to mention the complications within the ruling dynasty, had prevented the emergence of any sustained identification between the prevailing political establishment and one or other of the religious houses in the nascent kingdom of England. Winchester remained a place of great importance, whether as a centre of royal power, or for its major religious houses (notably the Old and New Minsters), or for its status as an important commercial centre with a significant mint;⁵¹ yet, if not for want of trying by certain parties at certain times in the tenth century, it had not managed to sustain any claim to be a dynastic mausoleum.

One of the themes which can be traced through Æthelred's reign, from its difficult start to its disastrous outcome, is how in various respects London came into its own, and became at the same time the focal point of hostile intentions. London owed most, of course, to its location on the river Thames; but while its continued significance as an emporium, in the eighth and ninth centuries, can hardly be doubted, London also owed much to its place in the Alfredian kingdom 'of the Anglo-Saxons', as taken forward by Alfred's successors in the tenth century.⁵² The history of St Paul's itself

⁴⁸ Entry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 57 (Abingdon), fol. 69r, on which manuscript see Keynes, *Diplomas*, 239 n. 22; see also S. Keynes, 'King Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury Abbey', in *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. L. Keen, Dorchester 1999, 17–72 at 57–8, from a calendar in a Book of Hours made for Elizabeth Shelford, abbess of Shaftesbury (1505–1528), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

⁴⁹ William of Malmesbury represents the burial at Wareham as the first, without honour, and delights in the fates of Ealdormen Ælfhere and Queen Ælfthryth (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 162, pp. 264–6); see also Huntingdon, v. 27, p. 324.

⁵⁰ The chronology of the events of 978–980 will be discussed in more detail in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas* (above, n. 5).

⁵¹ On the relative significance of the Winchester and London mints across the tenth century, see S. Lyon, 'An Introduction and Statistical Analysis', in *The Winchester Mint and Coins and Related Finds from the Excavations of 1961–71*, ed. M. Biddle, Winchester Studies, forthcoming, and R. Naismith, 'The English Monetary Economy c. 973–1100: the Contribution of Single Finds', *EcHR* 65, 2012, 1–28.

⁵² C. N. L. Brooke, *London 800–1216: the Shaping of a City*, London 1975, 367–70 (charters), and *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. M. D. Lobel, Oxford 1989, esp. 30–1, with S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn

is an integral part of this larger story.⁵³ In 962 a 'great and fatal fire' had occurred in London; St Paul's minster was burnt, and was rebuilt in the same year.⁵⁴ London was 'burnt down' twenty years later, in 982, and the cathedral may have suffered again.⁵⁵ In the later 980s (though not of course for the first time in the tenth century), London was on at least three occasions the meeting-place for royal assemblies: one in 986, a second associated in particular with Ealdorman Æthelwine, and a third seemingly convened by Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury (988–990).⁵⁶ The Viking raids on England, which had resumed in the 980s, escalated in 991 with the arrival of a large fleet in Kent. There could be little doubt that freedom of movement up and down the river Thames was important, during these years, for both contending parties; and one gets the impression that if the upper Thames valley had been a region of special importance to the English in the years around the millennium, the emphasis shifted downriver to London itself in the closing years of the reign. The Viking forces active in England between 991 and 1005 tried hard to take London, but eventually turned their attention elsewhere: in 992 London had been the place where the English assembled their fleet against them (and Ælfstan, bishop of London [or Rochester], one of its leaders); in 994, when London became the object of Viking attack, the city was stoutly defended; and in 999, when the Vikings came again into the Thames estuary, they headed up the Medway to Rochester. Interestingly, the Viking fleet which arrived at Sandwich in July 1006 chose to operate from the old encampment on the Isle of Wight, and seems not to have been much interested in London. The Viking fleet which arrived at Sandwich in August 1009, and which came to be known as 'Thorkell's army', went at first to the Isle of Wight; but they seem to have decided to take up winter quarters for 1009–10 on the Thames, probably at Greenwich, 'and often attacked the borough of London'. In the spring of 1010 the Danes came to Ipswich; whereupon one Æthelwine, monk of *Bedericesworth* (Bury St Edmunds), took up the relics of St Edmund (central, of course, to a cult of particular contemporary relevance) and brought them for safe keeping to the church of St Gregory, close by the south-west end of the old cathedral of St Paul, where they remained for three years (1010–1013).⁵⁷ In September 1011 the Danes

and D. N. Dumville, Woodbridge 1998, 1–45 at 34–9, and Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', esp. 45. The rise of London in the tenth century finds due reflection in the coinage (Brooke, *London*, 377–80; R. Naismith, 'London and its Mint, c. 880–1066', forthcoming), in law-codes (e.g. II Æthelstan and VI Æthelstan), and also in charters (e.g. in the treatment of the bishops of Winchester and London in the witness-lists of 'mainstream' royal diplomas, from the late 930s onwards).

⁵³ For recent treatments of the subject, see *Charters of St Paul's, London*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 10, London 2004 [hereafter *LonStP*], 1–49, esp. 33–9; P. Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment: St Paul's and the English Kingdoms, 604–1087', in *St Paul's*, ed. Keene *et al.*, 5–16; and J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren*, London 2011, esp. 43–59.

⁵⁴ ASC A, s.a. 962; Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 44.

⁵⁵ ASC C, s.a. 982.

⁵⁶ For the first, see S 1796 (*LonStP* 20b); for the second and third, see S 877 (*WinchNM* 31). The references in S 877 might be taken to suggest that the king was not present, but in both cases it seems likely that this impression is one which arises from the nature of the narrative, seen from the centre.

⁵⁷ Herman, *De miraculis S. Eadmundi*, chs. 10–13 (*Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols., RS 96, 1890–6, I, 26–92 at 40–6), with T. Licence, 'History and Hagiography in the Late Eleventh Century: the Life and Work of Herman the Archdeacon, Monk of Bury St Edmunds', *EHR* 124, 2009, 516–44 at 539. For discussion, see A. Thacker, 'The Cult of Saints and the Liturgy', in *St Paul's*, ed. Keene *et al.*, 113–22 at 115; see also *St Paul's*, ed. Keene *et al.*, 19, and Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 51, 56–7, 70, 101–2, 337. In 1001 King Æthelred had given land at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, to the nuns of Shaftesbury for the safe-keeping of the relics of King Edward the Martyr; see S. Keynes, 'The Cult of Edward the Martyr during the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready', in *Gender*

besieged Canterbury;⁵⁸ Archbishop Ælfheah was taken prisoner, and was taken back to the Danish base on the Thames at Greenwich. Over a number of days before and after Easter (12 April) in 1012, 'Ealdorman Eadric and all the leading *witan* of the English, ecclesiastical and lay' gathered at London, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the payment of tribute (*gafol*) to the Danish army. It was at a drunken and evidently unruly 'assembly' of the Danish army, held across the river at Greenwich, on Saturday 19 April, that the archbishop suffered his terrible death:⁵⁹ on the following morning, the archbishop's body 'was carried to London, and the bishops Eadnoth [of Dorchester] and Ælfhun [of London], and the citizens, received it with all reverence and buried it in St Paul's minster; and God now reveals there the powers of the holy martyr'.⁶⁰ It is interesting that the feeling in 1012 was that the archbishop should be buried at St Paul's, rather than at Canterbury, and that he should have begun to display his thaumaturgical powers in the place which was now at the centre of English resistance to the Danes. Ælfhun, bishop of London, was a significant player in his own right.⁶¹ Bishop Ælfstan (c. 960–995) had been followed by Bishop Wulfstan (996–1002); and when Wulfstan was translated to York, doubtless in recognition of his singular qualities, Ælfhun was brought from Milton Abbey in Dorset to take over responsibility for the most important see after Canterbury and York. It is likely that the so-called 'ship-list', from St Paul's, reflects arrangements made at about this time (c. 1000) for the provision or manning of a ship from the estates of the see of London, for defensive purposes.⁶² When (apparently in 1013) it was considered safe to return the relics of St Edmund to their resting-place in Suffolk, Bishop Ælfhun tried to appropriate them for St Paul's; but to no avail.⁶³ One should add, for whatever it may be worth, that at a royal assembly convened in mid-April 1013 (in the interlude between the dispersal of Thorkell's army in the late spring or summer of 1012, and the arrival of Sven Forkbeard in August 1013), royal diplomas were issued for estates at Hatfield (Essex), Tottenham (Middlesex), and Horndon (Essex), north and east of London, and that responsibility for the

and *Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. J. L. Nelson and S. Reynolds, London 2012, 115–25.

⁵⁸ ASC C, D, E, s.a. 1011. The more elaborate account of the siege given by Osbern, *Vita S. Ælphégi*, chs. 20–2 (H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols., London 1691), and used later by John of Worcester, s.a. 1011, pp.466–70, seems largely fanciful.

⁵⁹ For what (little) it may be worth, it was believed in the early eighteenth century that the encampment for the Danish base at Greenwich was on Blackheath, overlooking the river and commanding a fine view towards London and St Paul's.

⁶⁰ ASC C, D, E, s.a. 1012. Another contemporary account of the death of Archbishop 'Dunstan', i.e. Ælfheah, was incorporated by Thietmar of Merseburg in his *Chronicon*, bk 7, chs. 42–3, on the authority of one Sewald: see D. A. Warner, *Ottoman Germany: the 'Chronicon' of Thietmar of Merseburg*, Manchester 2001, 336–7.

⁶¹ For the bishops of London in Æthelred's reign, see D. Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London*, University College, London 1975, re-printed in her *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England*, London 1981, no. II, 22–32; *LonStP*, 119–21; and Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment', 13–15.

⁶² For the ship-list, transmitted as an early twelfth-century addition in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383, fol. 69r (image on Parker Library on the Web at <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home>, accessed 24/01/2012), see *LonStP*, 192–201 (no. 25), with D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1981, 93 (fig. 165); Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment', 14–15; and K. Powell, 'The "Shipmen" Scribe and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', *The Heroic Age: a Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* 14 (2010), online at <http://www.heroicage.org/>, accessed 24/01/2012. S 945 (*LonStP* 24), which purports to be a writ of King Æthelred for St Paul's, is not authentic; see also Harmer, *AS Writs*, no. 52.

⁶³ Herman, *De miraculis S. Eadmundi*, ch. 15 (*Memorials*, ed. Arnold, I, 44–6).

production of all three of the diplomas would appear to have been entrusted to Bishop Ælfhun.⁶⁴ The beneficiary of at least two of these charters (for Hatfield and Horndon), and perhaps of the third (for Tottenham), was a thegn called Sigered, of whom we might wish to know more.⁶⁵

The invasion of England by Sven Forkbeard, king of Denmark, in the summer of 1013, soon brought him to London. According to the chronicler, 'many of his host were drowned in the Thames because they did not trouble to find a bridge'; but when the Danes reached London 'the citizens would not yield, because King Æthelred was inside and Thorkell with him', evidently a reference to Thorkell's newly constituted mercenary force lying at Greenwich. Sven diverted his attention elsewhere, receiving the submission of others less inclined to resist; at which point 'the citizens of London submitted and gave hostages, for they were afraid that he would destroy them'. For a while Æthelred took refuge with Thorkell, at Greenwich, sending Ælfhun, bishop of London, across the channel to Normandy with the athelings Edward and Alfred, 'that he should take care of them'; but at Christmas Æthelred moved to the old Danish base on the Isle of Wight, and after the festival sailed thence to Normandy to rejoin his immediate family. Following Sven's death, presumably at or near Gainsborough on 3 February 1014, and his burial at York, the Danish fleet chose his son Cnut as their new king, as well they might; soon afterwards, under circumstances which remain entirely obscure, a certain Ælfwig was consecrated bishop of London, at York, on St Juliana's Day (Tuesday 16 February) 1014.⁶⁶ For their part, 'all of the *witan* who were in England, ecclesiastical and lay', decided to ask King Æthelred to return home, 'if he would govern them more justly than he did before'. The king returned in the spring; and it would appear that sooner or later Bishop Ælfhun also returned, and was reinstated at London.⁶⁷ Cnut and his force were driven away; a hefty payment had to be made later that year to the mercenaries at Greenwich. In the summer of 1015 Cnut returned to England with a fresh invasion force, and once again London was the focus of attention.

⁶⁴ S 931a and S 931b, copied from a lost cartulary of Barking abbey into a sixteenth-century cartulary of Ilford Hospital, now at Hatfield House. Provisional texts of these charters are available on the Kemble website (Anglo-Saxon Charters at <http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk>, accessed 24/01/2012). A formula used of Bishop Ælfhun in S 931b indicates that the bishop, 'dictating' (*dictitans*), had ordered the charter to be written (*hanc cartam ... perscribere iussi*), with the two others, as the king and his men directed (*rege suisque precipientibus*). A similar formula had been used on a few occasions in the 960s; interestingly, it was used of a different bishop on another occasion in 1013 (S 931, from Thorney), and again in the 1020s. For further discussion, see *EHD*, I, 378; Keynes, *Diplomas*, 26–8; and S. Keynes, 'Edgar, *Rex Admirabilis*', in *Edgar, King of the English 959–975: New Interpretations*, ed. D. Scragg, Woodbridge 2008, 3–58 at 18 n. 74.

⁶⁵ A thegn called Sigered was active in Kent up to c. 1005, but there is no sign of a man of this name attending royal assemblies in the closing decade of Æthelred's reign (Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations*, Table LXIII).

⁶⁶ ASC D, s.a. 1014. The first certain attestation of Bishop Ælfwig is in S 950 (*Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, The British Academy, forthcoming, 144), dated 1018 (*Atlas of Attestations*, Table LXVI). Cf. S. Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Vikings Raids of 1006–7 and 1009–12', *ASE* 36, 2007, 151–220 at 204–5, and 'Edward the Ætheling (c. 1005–16)', in *Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend*, ed. R. Mortimer, Woodbridge 2009, 41–62 at 51.

⁶⁷ The bishop of London who attests S 934 (*Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 7–8, Oxford 2000–1, 137), dated 1015, is named in the witness-list as 'Alfun' (a contemporary spelling for Ælfhun, as may be seen from S 922 (*Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2, Oxford 1979, 32), an original dated 1009), in which case Ælfhun had been reinstated (Keynes, *Diplomas*, 267). The sequence of four minims could also be read as 'Alfu' or 'Alfui' (arguably a spelling for 'Ælfwius', i.e. Ælfwig), which is the view taken in *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. Kelly, 538, and *LondSTP*, 121.

Over the Christmas season of 1015–16, the ætheling Edmund assembled an army, and ‘nothing would satisfy them except that the king should be there with them and that they should have the assistance of the citizens of London’. Soon afterwards, the army was again called out, ‘and word was sent to the king in London, begging him to come to join the army with the forces he could muster’; but it came to nothing, so the king ‘left the army and returned to London’. After some further developments, the ætheling Edmund ‘went to London to his father’. After Easter (1 April), ‘King Cnut turned with all his ships towards London. Then it happened that King Æthelred died before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St George’s Day [23 April], and he had held his kingdom with great toil and difficulties as long as his life lasted.’⁶⁸

Our detailed knowledge of all these events is derived from what has come to be regarded as the ‘main’ account of Æthelred’s reign, which found its way into certain manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A record of some kind had quite possibly been kept by a member or members of the ecclesiastical order based in London, perhaps at St Paul’s, perhaps even in the royal household, though in its transmitted form the narrative developed from it seems to have been put together in the early years of Cnut’s reign.⁶⁹ No reference is made in the Chronicle to the king’s burial at St Paul’s, perhaps because it was taken for granted; though, as in the case of other kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the compiler or redactor of the source behind the Worcester Latin Chronicle and William of Malmesbury made a point of the king’s honourable burial there.⁷⁰ The (Anglo-Saxon) chronicler moves briskly on to explain that after Æthelred’s death ‘all the *witan* who were in London, and the citizens (*burhwaru*), chose Edmund as king, and he stoutly defended his kingdom while his life lasted’; and while the Worcester Latin chronicler makes use of the same material, he couples it, on uncertain authority, with an account of how after Æthelred’s death ‘the bishops, abbots, ealdormen, and all the more important men of England’, evidently with intended reference to those who were *not* in London, assembled together and chose Cnut as their lord and king, ‘and coming to him at Southampton, renounced and repudiated in his presence all the descendants of King Æthelred’.⁷¹

Nothing could be more effective in giving substance to this narrative than two items of ‘Scandinavian’ character, closely and most powerfully associated with London. One is the assemblage of weapons and other implements found in the 1920s at the north end of London Bridge, comprising axes, spears, knives, and a grappling iron, judged for good reason to be of late tenth-century date and Scandinavian manufacture.⁷² The other is a gravestone found on the south side of the churchyard at St Paul’s, in 1852, decorated in fine Scandinavian style and set up by

⁶⁸ ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1016.

⁶⁹ For further discussion, see S. Keynes, ‘The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready’, in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 59, 1978, 227–53, re-printed in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. D. Pelteret, New York, 2000, 157–90 at 162–3, and ‘Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’, in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 537–52 at 545–6; see also Brooks, ‘Why is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle about Kings?’, 51–2.

⁷⁰ John of Worcester, *s.a.* 1016, p. 484; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii.180.3, p. 314.

⁷¹ ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1016.

⁷² The axes, etc., are on display in the Museum of London. See R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *London and the Vikings*, London 1927, 18–23. The assemblage featured in a lecture on ‘The Archaeology of King Æthelred the Unready’, given at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 20 October 2010, and I am grateful to John Clark, Curator Emeritus, Museum of London, for his help in that connection.

two persons named in a runic inscription as Ginna and Toki, apparently intended to commemorate a compatriot, perhaps a former member of a viking army, who had died at London in the first quarter of the eleventh century.⁷³ No less evocative, however, is the hoard of silver pennies of King Æthelred's last substantive type (Last Small Cross), found in the vicinity of St Martin's Le Grand (immediately to the north of the east end of St Paul's), deposited perhaps at the height of the disturbances in 1015–16.⁷⁴

London was thus the symbolic and actual centre of English resistance to the Scandinavian invasions, and probably retained something of that identity during the years of Anglo-Danish rule (1016–1042). In 1023 the body of St Ælfheah was translated from St Paul's to the cathedral church of Canterbury. The event is described in the 'C' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in terms which could be taken to suggest that Cnut had acted of his own volition, and perhaps to his own ends. It is also described by Osbern, writing at Canterbury in the 1080s, with at least some information provided by Godric (who in the early 1020s was the archbishop's chaplain and who for many years in the central decades of the eleventh century was dean of the monastic community at Christ Church). Osbern creates the distinct impression that the Londoners were opposed to the move; in which case it might follow that Cnut had feared any further development of the cult of the martyred archbishop at St Paul's, lest it should become a focus of opposition to the newly-established Anglo-Danish regime.⁷⁵ However, the long, moving and circumstantial account of the translation, found in the 'D' manuscript of the Chronicle, creates a different impression, suggesting that the initiative had come from Archbishop Æthelnoth, and from Brihtwine, bishop of Wells, and that the translation had become a grand ceremonial occasion, in which first Cnut, and then Queen Ælfgifu (Emma) and their child Harthacnut, came together with the people to honour the 'holy martyr' and to ensure that he was accorded his due in his own church. One can imagine that the Londoners might not have been pleased to lose a saint already seen to be working miracles at St Paul's. Yet the ceremony in 1023 appears to have been conducted in the same spirit of rapprochement as the 'Oxford Agreement' of 1018, and the consecration of the minster at Ashingdon in 1020; and with Thorkell gone, and having recently secured his own position in Denmark, perhaps King Cnut was minded for positive reasons to promote the cult of the martyred archbishop. King Æthelred might have gained from his association with the cult of Edward the Martyr, at Shaftesbury; in the same way the Anglo-Danish regime, under Cnut and Earl Godwine, might have hoped to gain from its public association with the promotion of the cult of St Ælfheah, at Canterbury.

It is perhaps to be expected that Kingston-upon-Thames should disappear from the record, after Æthelred's inauguration there in 979, as if it had been overtaken by the unfolding circumstances. Henceforth, royal inaugurations would appear to have

⁷³ The stone is on display in the Museum of London. See J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: a Select Catalogue*, London 1980, 148; Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment', 11; Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 46–9, 254–65 (discussion of the graveyard by David Stocker) and 346–7.

⁷⁴ 'Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c. 450–1180', Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, website at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/>, accessed 24/01/2012, no. 204, with references.

⁷⁵ According to Osbern, in his *Translatio S. Ælfegei*, measures were taken by Cnut's regime to discourage the people of London from trying to prevent the removal of Ælfheah's body. For further discussion, see A. Rumble, 'Textual Appendix', in *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. Rumble, Leicester 1994, 283–315 at 285–9; Keynes, 'Ælfheah', in *Encyclopaedia of ASE*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, 7; and Thacker, 'Cult of Saints', 115.

been conducted at St Paul's, at least until the distinction passed to Westminster.⁷⁶ The burials of kings continued to be determined by changing circumstances. Sven Forkbeard, briefly king in 1013–1014, had been buried at York, though sooner or later, probably during Cnut's reign, his body was removed to Denmark, and buried at Roskilde.⁷⁷ Edmund Ironside was buried in 1016 at Glastonbury.⁷⁸ Cnut died in 1035 at Shaftesbury, itself a reflection of the 'Dorset' dimensions of his kingship,⁷⁹ while the fact that he was taken for burial from Shaftesbury to the Old Minster, Winchester, suggests that Winchester was considered to be the place where his dynasty would be commemorated. The case of Harold (Harefoot) is instructive in part because it stands outside the norm, and in part because it exposes the intensity of feeling which could be generated by place of burial. He had been consecrated at 'London'; he was at Oxford, in 1040, when he fell ill and died, and was brought to 'Westminster' for burial. When Harthacnut was invited to return to England, one of his first acts was to order that Harold's body be dug up (at Westminster), and thrown into a fen; according to a fuller account in the Worcester Latin Chronicle, the body was recovered from the fen, thrown into the Thames, recovered from the Thames, and then borne in haste to the Danes, who buried it honourably in their cemetery at London.⁸⁰ Harthacnut was consecrated at 'London'; but following his death, on 8 June 1042, he was buried at the Old Minster, Winchester, alongside his father (to be joined ten years later by his mother).

In 1041 the ætheling Edward had been invited back from exile in Normandy, apparently to share in his half-brother Harthacnut's regime under the watchful eye of their mother, Queen Emma. It is striking that on Harthacnut's death in the following year, and indeed quite specifically 'before he was buried', all of the English people are said to have chosen Edward as king, 'at London'. A sense of the perceived contemporary significance of the restoration of the English line, whether expected or unexpected, emerges from the revised ending provided at this time for the *Encomium Emmae reginae*, and from Earl Godwine's gift of a ship to the king, as described in the *Vita Edwardi regis*.⁸¹ According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Edward was crowned king by Eadsige, archbishop of Canterbury, on Easter Day (3 April) 1043, at Winchester. The location of this event might have reflected the circumstances which obtained in 1043; though complications are introduced by the statement in the *Vita Edwardi* to the effect that Edward had been consecrated king at Christ Church, Canterbury, perhaps with reference to an earlier ceremony in 1041 or 1042, and perhaps thought for whatever reason to take priority over an event staged subsequently at Winchester.⁸² At all events, one senses that Kingston-upon-Thames had indeed lost its place in the eleventh century to a new political order. The obsequies of Swen Forkbeard, Edmund Ironside, Cnut, Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut have to be understood on their own special terms, but it is interesting that when Edward the Exile, son of Edmund Ironside, returned to England in early

⁷⁶ According to Ralph de Diceto (above, n. 17), the inaugurations of Edmund Ironside (1016), Cnut (1016 or 1017), Harold Harefoot (?1037/1040) and Harthacnut (1042) are said to have taken place at 'London'.

⁷⁷ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, i. 5 and ii. 3, ed. A. Campbell, London 1949, 14 and 18; reprinted with a supplementary introduction, Camden Classic Reprints 4, Cambridge 1998, [lvi].

⁷⁸ ASC C, D, E, s.a. 1016.

⁷⁹ Keynes, 'Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury', 55 with n. 135.

⁸⁰ John of Worcester, s.a. 1040, p. 530.

⁸¹ Keynes and Love, 'Earl Godwine's Ship', 185–223.

⁸² *Vita Edwardi regis*, i. 1 (*The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster, Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Barlow, 2nd edn, Oxford 1992, 14.

1057, apparently as heir to the kingdom of the English, and soon afterwards died, he was accorded the honour of burial at St Paul's.⁸³ King Edward died on 5 January 1066, and was buried on the following day in his newly consecrated church at Westminster. Harold II is said to have been inaugurated on the day of King Edward's funeral, though it is unclear whether the ceremony was held at Westminster, or further downriver in London, perhaps at St Paul's; he died on 14 October 1066, and according to one account his body was soon afterwards removed from the battlefield to his foundation at Waltham Holy Cross in Essex.⁸⁴

The Tomb of King Æthelred at St Paul's

The late seventh-century tomb of Sebbi, king of the East Saxons, and the early eleventh-century tomb of Æthelred, king of the English, would appear to have survived the conflagration at St Paul's in 1087 (recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). However, it seems to have been felt appropriate thereafter, or perhaps necessary, to transfer whatever remained of each king into an imposing sarcophagus of grey or black marble, as part of the work initiated at St Paul's by Maurice, bishop of London (1086–1107). The new tombs date from the mid-twelfth century, and are considered to be the earliest English imitations of ancient sarcophagi, possibly contemporary with the 1148 translation of the relics of St Erkenwald.⁸⁵ Alas, neither of the tombs survived the vicissitudes of the central decades of the seventeenth century; so anyone who might now wish to pay his or her respects to one or other of the two kings is dependent on what can be learnt of 'Old St Paul's' from earlier written and pictorial records.⁸⁶ In 1614 an account of the burials in the cathedral was made by one Henry Holland. Sebbi and Æthelred lay side by side in an alcove 'at the entrance of the north side or ile of the quire or chancell', both in coffins of 'grey marble', and both with Latin inscriptions 'hanging by'.⁸⁷ Following restoration work at the cathedral in the 1630s, under Inigo Jones, detailed drawings of the interior arrangements and furnishings were made by Sir William Dugdale (1605–1686), for his 'Book of Monuments' (1641).⁸⁸ The location of the several tombs of saints and

⁸³ ASC E, s.a. 1057, with S. Keynes, 'The Crowland Psalter and the Sons of King Edmund Ironside', *Bodleian Library Record* 11, 1985, 359–70.

⁸⁴ *The Waltham Chronicle: an Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and its Conveyance to Waltham*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, Oxford 1994, xliii–xlvi and 50–7.

⁸⁵ C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, Oxford 1995, 451–510 at 456; Thacker, 'Cult of Saints', 116–17; and Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 45, 64, 99–100 and 128–31.

⁸⁶ W. Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London*, London 1658; C. Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, Tombs and Precinct 1087–1540', in *St Paul's*, ed. Keene *et al.*, 127–42; M. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated*, Newark, DE, 2002, 73–103; P. Tudor-Craig, with C. Whittick, 'Old St Paul's': the Society of Antiquaries' Diptych, 1616, London Topographical Society Publication 163, London 2004; and esp. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*.

⁸⁷ H. Holland, *Monumenta Sepulchralia Sancti Pauli Illustrata: the Monuments, Inscriptions, and Epitaphs of Kings, Nobles, Bishops, and Others, Buried in the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul, London*, London 1614, 8–9; see also H. Holland, *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli Illustrata*, London 1633.

⁸⁸ Dugdale's 'Book of Monuments', formerly preserved among the papers of the Finch-Hatton family (Earls of Winchelsea), was deposited in the British Museum in 1952 (Loans MS. 38), and passed to the British Library c. 1998. It is now London, BL Add. 71474. The drawings of St Paul's occupy fols. 164–86.

bishops still surviving at that time are shown on a contemporary plan;⁸⁹ and Dugdale provides a drawing of the tomb of King Sebbi, and a drawing of the tomb of King Æthelred, giving the text of the inscriptions placed on the wall above each tomb.⁹⁰ The tombs survived the damage suffered at the cathedral in the 1640s, during the Commonwealth,⁹¹ at least to judge from the fact that they are seen again in the series of drawings of St Paul's made by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) in the 1650s.⁹² Only one of these drawings, showing an external view of the cathedral from the east, survives in its original form;⁹³ but others are known from the engravings published in Dugdale's *History of St Paul's* (1658), including one which shows the tombs of Sebbi and Æthelred, beside one another in the north aisle, with the inscriptions above (Figure 1).⁹⁴

The inscriptions placed over the tombs served usefully to identify their respective occupants.⁹⁵ The engraving of Hollar's drawing suggests that they were on panels attached to the wall above each of the niches containing the tombs themselves; and to judge from Dugdale's seemingly faithful representation of their script, in his 'Book of Monuments', they were made some time later in the Middle Ages, perhaps in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.⁹⁶ The inscription placed over the tomb of King Sebbi was derived verbatim from the account of the king in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and is entirely fitting.⁹⁷ The inscription placed over the tomb of King Æthelred is of a different nature. It tells of the prophecy made by Archbishop Dunstan on the occasion of Æthelred's coronation: how since the young Æthelred had aspired to the throne through his elder brother's death, he and his progeny would suffer the consequences; and how it came to pass as Dunstan had foretold, when having reigned under great tribulation for 'thirty-six' years, Æthelred died his miserable death, worn out in battle by Sven, king of the Danes, and his son Cnut, and, at the end, besieged in the city of London. This was more or less the standard rhetoric which had begun to develop about Æthelred in the later eleventh century, suitably adapted for display above the king's tomb at St Paul's. The story originated

⁸⁹ Dugdale, *History of St Pauls*, 161 (folding plate), reproduced in Cragoe, 'Fabric, Tombs and Precinct', 128; see also Schofield, *St Paul's*, 128–9.

⁹⁰ London, BL Add. 71474, fol. 177rv.

⁹¹ Dugdale, *History of St Pauls*, 46 and 173; D. J. Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation, 1540–1714', in *St Paul's*, ed. Keene *et al.*, 45–70 at 60–4; G. Higgott, 'The Fabric to 1670', in *ibid.*, 171–89 at 182–3; Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 208–14.

⁹² R. Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677*, Cambridge 1982, and A. Griffiths and G. Kesnerova, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings from the Collections of the National Gallery, Prague, and the British Museum, London*, London 1983.

⁹³ Sotheby's London, Old Master & British Drawings, 16 July 2010, lot 109.

⁹⁴ Dugdale, *St Paul's*, 92; Pennington, *Catalogue*, 357 (no. 2341); reproduced in Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 81; *St Paul's*, ed. Keene, 10; Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 45. The possibility exists that Hollar's drawing was idealized; see Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 73–103 at 93, with Cragoe, 'Fabric, Tombs and Precinct', 131, Higgott, 'Fabric', 182–3, and Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 281. According to the plan, Æthelred's tomb was to the left of Sebbi's; but Hollar's plate shows Æthelred's tomb to the right.

⁹⁵ The texts are given by Holland and Dugdale; see also W. Benham, *Old St Paul's Cathedral*, London 1902, 16–17, with translation.

⁹⁶ Similar inscriptions can be seen from Hollar's plates to have been placed over some other tombs, whether on wood or in brass. The script may date from s. xiii/xiv, if certain seemingly 'later' features are attributed to Dugdale as copyist; but if all of the letter forms were copied accurately from the inscription, a date in the fifteenth or sixteenth century would be more likely. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr Tessa Webber, for her guidance in this connection. For brasses in the old cathedral, see Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral*, 281–4.

⁹⁷ Bede, *HE*, iv. 11.

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Figure 1: Wenceslaus Hollar; the tombs of King Sebbi and King Æthelred

in the early eleventh century, in the closing years of Æthelred's reign, though in a significantly different form. Some time between 1006 and 1011, at perhaps the very worst period for the English in their struggle against the Danes, Adelard of Ghent had provided Archbishop Ælfheah with a series of lections on the life of St Dunstan.⁹⁸ Much is said of Dunstan's prophetic powers;⁹⁹ and in *lectio viii* (out of twelve) Adelard remarks how, 'among his other predictions', Dunstan 'had prior knowledge in the spirit of the barbarian invasion (*barbarorum ... impugnationem*) under which we labour', adding that he predicted that it would come about after his own death (988).¹⁰⁰ A version of this story, or a version of a story about King Æthelred in connection with which this story could be put to good use, took shape in the late eleventh century. Archbishop Lanfranc was famously sceptical of the credentials of some of the saints whom he encountered on his arrival in England, and needed to be persuaded of their merits.¹⁰¹ In respect of St Ælfheah, Anselm provided a compelling line of argument, whereupon Lanfranc instructed Osbern,

⁹⁸ Adelard, *Lectiones in depositione S. Dunstani*, in *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 112–45, with cxxv–cxxxv. For the Viking raids of these years, see S. Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1006–7 and 1009–12', *ASE* 36, 2007, 151–220.

⁹⁹ Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', 169–70, and C. Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan: a Prophet in Politics?', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. Barrow and Wareham, 145–66. The power of prophecy was of course a hagiographical commonplace; for Ælfheah I, bishop of Winchester, see WW, *VSA*, ch. 8 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 12).

¹⁰⁰ Adelard, *Lectio viii* (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 142).

¹⁰¹ Eadmer, *Vita S. Anselmi*, ch. 30 (*The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Eadmer, ed. R. W. Southern, Oxford 1972, 50–4), with R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, Cambridge 1963, 246–53, and *Saint Anselm: a Portrait in Landscape*, Cambridge 1990, 317–20. See also M. Gibson,

monk and precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury, to produce a hymn for singing on St Ælfheah's Day. Osbern's hymn on St Ælfheah does not survive, but he also produced a prose Life of St Alphege, followed by a prose History of the Translation of the Body of St Alphege, both of which were written probably in the 1080s.¹⁰² Osbern then turned his attention to Ælfheah's mentor, St Dunstan. In this case a useful foundation existed in the form of B's Life of St Dunstan, written c. 1000, complemented by the series of lections written by Adelard between 1006 and 1011; but in his own Life of St Dunstan, written in the early 1090s, Osbern was required to adapt the material in front of him for a rather different readership.¹⁰³ Osbern's works on St Ælfheah and St Dunstan are naturally of great significance in the context of early Anglo-Norman hagiography;¹⁰⁴ yet they are also significant in historiographical terms, for they rank among the earliest manifestations of a post-Conquest, essentially 'Anglo-Norman' view of the Anglo-Saxon past, fastening on King Æthelred, Eadric streona, and the outcome of the Danish invasions.¹⁰⁵ Within this context Osbern casts Archbishop Dunstan as leader of the monastic reform movement, and represents him as one who in his great wisdom had predicted everything from the outset of Æthelred's reign, and who regarded the Danish invasions and conquest as a manifestation of God's punishment on Æthelred's regime for its complicity in the murder of Edward the Martyr. The story of the prophecy was part of this process of embellishment, taken further in due course by Eadmer, in another Life of St Dunstan,¹⁰⁶ and finding expression thereafter in the more overtly 'historical' works of the Anglo-Norman period, including the Worcester Latin Chronicle and the writings of William of Malmesbury.¹⁰⁷ Whoever wrote the inscription for Æthelred's tomb lifted the words from Osbern, and added some more for local interest.

Awareness of the ways in which stories about the past arose, developed and multiplied in the aftermath of the events themselves suggests in this as in other cases that, while we should enjoy them for their own sake, we should resist any temptation to take them seriously for historical purposes outside the contexts in which they took shape. Contemporary evidence suggests that King Æthelred and those around him had struggled long and hard against the viking invaders, and that latterly the efforts of the aggressors were focused upon the defenders in London. It

Lanfranc of Bec, Oxford 1978, 170–1, and S. N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034–1136*, Woodbridge 1981, 109–10 (*Life of Lanfranc*, ch. 15).

¹⁰² Osbern, *Vita S. Ælphégi* (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 122–42). For Osbern's *Historia de Translatione Corporis S. Elphégi*, see Rumble, 'Textual Appendix', superseding the text in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 143–7. Only charred fragments survive of the two late eleventh-century manuscripts of Osbern's work (in London, BL Cotton Otho A. xii and Vitellius D. xvii), but the text is also preserved in later medieval manuscripts. Both the *Vita* and the *Historia de Translatione* are translated in F. Shaw, *Osbern's Life of Alfege*, London 1999.

¹⁰³ Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 63, 1874, 69–161.

¹⁰⁴ J. Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern at Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe, London 1995, 27–40, and his entry on Osbern in the *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20865?docPos=1>, accessed 24/01/2012.

¹⁰⁵ Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', 169–70, citing Adelard, *Lectio* xii (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, 142) and Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 37 (ed. Stubbs, 114–15). Herman's *Miracula Sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris* was written at about the same time, and is of interest for the same historiographical reason; see Licence, 'History and Hagiography', esp. 544 (for the play on Æthelred's name).

¹⁰⁶ Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 59 (*Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, Oxford 2006, 144–6).

¹⁰⁷ John of Worcester, s.a. 1016, p. 484; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 162.4, 164.2–3, pp. 266, 268; for further discussion, see Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', 168–73 and 183–5.

was only appropriate that Æthelred should have been accorded an honourable burial at St Paul's in 1016, and it is interesting that the respect should have extended to his re-burial in a marble tomb, alongside King Sebbi, towards the middle of the twelfth century. The fact that he should have reposed for some time thereafter underneath an inscription brandishing him as one who had aspired to gain the throne though the death of his half-brother, and whose own death at London was due punishment for his complicity in regicide, is merely symbolic of the treatment that posterity can deliver to those who might have deserved a different fate. Better the epitaph accorded to King Æthelred in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 'He ended his days on St George's Day, and he had held his kingdom with great toil and difficulties as long as his life lasted.'

EUSTACE II OF BOULOGNE, THE CRISES OF 1051–2 AND THE ENGLISH COINAGE¹

Sally Harvey

The crises of 1051–2 brought out into the open the question of succession to the throne and rendered more acute the fear of foreign influence in the Anglo-Saxon state. Events, in their turn, aggravated existing dissensions over the distribution of office, lands and power – areas that Ann Williams has done so much to illuminate. Yet, in the maelstrom of these two years, Eustace of Boulogne's intentions on his 1051 visit to England remain mysterious.

Certainly there was cause for rivalry between the Godwine dynasty and that of Eustace, since both had married into the English royal house. Besides this, however, I suggest that there was also a commercial dimension. In particular, when Count Eustace told King Edward 'what he wanted' on his visit to England in 1051, it might have been that he was seeking a weight-standard in England that was compatible with his own coinage, so as to facilitate the Boulogne trade-route to Lotharingia. This aim was in direct conflict with the Godwine family's Danish associations, their Flemish alliances and the encouragement of trade via the more northerly route towards the developing Bruges and more northerly ports. To ease the paths of commerce, they, in their turn, may have advocated a weight-standard related to the coinage of Flanders.

Shipping and trade between England and the continent in the eleventh century was normally conducted between ports facing each other across the Channel,² giving the county of Boulogne a special relationship with Dover. The Godwinesons' strength, too, lay not only in land but in shipping. Swein and Tostig had evidently had ships at their command, and the latter acquired lands near major south-coast ports. The family drew readily on the facilities of these ports,³ profiting from the trade of the Sussex ports and alert to the possibilities for trade between Bristol and Ireland.⁴ In preparation for Godwine's reinstatement in 1052, ports of the south-east coast had been encouraged or coerced into supplying him with assistance.⁵ The earl had at one time been in receipt of a third of the income from the wharves at Southwark, and on his return from exile the harbour offered him and his fleet a home base.⁶ In the course of 1066, the Southwark mint was probably destroyed by

¹ I wish to thank Michael Metcalf for encouragement, David Bates and Stephen Baxter for alerting me to other work, and Nicholas Mayhew and David Roffe for supplying photocopies.

² M. Gardiner, 'Shipping and Trade between England and the Continent during the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 22, 1999, 72–93.

³ ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1049, 1052; A. Williams, 'Land and Power in the Eleventh Century: the Estates of Harold Godwineson', *ANS* 3, 1980, 171–187, 230–4 at 185–7.

⁴ C. Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 26, 2003, 55–73 at 65–6. I owe this reference to the kindness of David Bates and David Roffe.

⁵ ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1052.

⁶ GDB, 32; *DB Surrey*, 5, 28; *Florentii Wigorniensis, Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols, London 1848–9, I, 209.

fire along with the manor; certainly its activity became thin and sporadic until late in William's reign.⁷ By 1086, Eustace was holding urban plots in Southwark and London – with tenants who were engaged in shipping, since they paid him 2000 herrings as part of their rent.⁸

A major port with a mint was an eminently desirable asset. Michael Metcalf's study of mints across the economic heartland of Europe shows that urban mints situated at the point of entry of countries had significantly greater outputs, as activity depended largely on the custom that merchants brought them.⁹ Boulogne, the focus of several Roman roads, was the route of first choice, *via rectissima*, for travellers from England to Rome.¹⁰ For the county of Boulogne, the route offered profits from minting, from tolls, and from the carrying trade. Quentovic had been a major gold mint since Merovingian times and one of the most valuable sources of tolls in the Carolingian empire.¹¹ The ports of this coast occupied a key position in the carrying trade, sea-borne as well as land-borne. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Montreuil, just to the south of Boulogne county, became a great entrepôt, so much so, Peter Spufford points out, that 'a greater value of textiles was sold at Genoa in 1197 with Montreuil as its declared place of origin than from any of the actual textile-producing towns'.¹² In all, the advantages to England of the short crossing were obvious, as was the vital importance of trade to the small but proud comital house of Boulogne. From the Roman period onwards, successive ports facing Dover were the main channel for English trade and continental contacts; Quentovic and Wissant were successively key to English trade with Europe and provided direct Roman routes to the cities of Lille and Tournai, Arras and Cambrai and to their great fairs. In contrast, the area to the north was for long undrained and crossed by only one road linking Oudenbourg to Tournai.¹³ Boulogne also offered a major trade-route to the metal-working region of the Meuse and on to Aachen and Cologne – the upper Meuse being an industrial area with much greater minting activity evident than Flanders.¹⁴ Boulogne constituted an alternative to the much longer sea- and water- routes via the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse.

Was Eustace's diplomatic initiative in 1051, together with his two attempts to control Dover, a direct effort to channel English trade through the Boulogne ports and to establish an English weight standard compatible with his own currency? We know that contemporary ideas on trade did indeed extend to thoughts on synchronizing coinages. To England's west, the kingdom of Dublin made efforts at first warlike, then more peaceful, to create links with sterling. Coin dies from English West Country mints – presumably stolen in raids – were used to produce some of the earliest coins minted at Dublin, some as early as the year 1000; while from

⁷ D. M. Metcalf, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds, c. 973–1086*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 32, London and Oxford 1998, 188, 297.

⁸ GDB, 34: *DB Surrey*, 15, 1.

⁹ D. M. Metcalf, 'Coinage and the Rise of Flemish Towns', in *Coinage in the Low Countries 880–1500*, ed. N. J. Mayhew, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 54, Oxford 1979, 1–23 at 15.

¹⁰ P. Grierson, 'Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th series 23, 1941, 71–114 at 72–81 and map; H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1962, 80, map, 332.

¹¹ Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 84; P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge 1989, 42, 44–6.

¹² R. L. Reynolds, 'The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa, 1179–1200', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 8, 1929, 831–51; Spufford, *Money*, 198.

¹³ Grierson, 'Relations between England and Flanders', 72, 81, map.

¹⁴ Metcalf, 'Coinage and the Rise of the Flemish Towns', 2; Spufford, *Money*, 197–8.

about 1074 until about 1088, the Dublin mint imitated English coin issues and, in more co-operative spirit, tracked sterling's weight in a constant ratio of 3:2.¹⁵ On the eastern seaboard, monetary links with England were traditionally strong: coins of Saint-Omer, beyond Boulogne, had imitated Æthelred's Crux type of 991–997.¹⁶ By the end of the eleventh century, the Boulogne coinage had become 'entirely English' in type.¹⁷ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Flanders, Boulogne and Rheims deliberately tracked England's currency, with a unit set at half the pound sterling, called *le petit marc de 10s. sterling*.¹⁸ Twenty shillings sterling was exchanged at 40s. Rouen in the twelfth century,¹⁹ while the important imperial mint at Cologne seems, according to the sporadic evidence available, to have issued coin that was exchanged at par with sterling.²⁰ It is not an anachronism, therefore, to suggest that in the eleventh century different political entities were endeavouring to synchronize their respective coin weights within their trading zone.

As is now widely recognized, English coinage was of a high standard. The design was frequently changed: under the Confessor and the Conqueror, about every three years or less. Here, control over the coinage was unparalleled elsewhere in Europe, except in Byzantium, and weight-standards of particular issues were varied from time to time, and even from place to place – for reasons that are still not fully understood – until stabilization in the last years of William I's reign. However, it seems that crown revenues from minting, the level of general taxation and the balance of trade, not to mention the degree of local control, all arguably had an influence on the adjustments made in the weights of coin.²¹ Now, curiously and aberrantly, the English issue of coin at the time of the great crisis of 1051–2 ('Expanding Cross' c. 1050–053), embodies two very different weight-standards: one light at 1.12 grams, in line with previous issues, and one very heavy at 1.67 grams.²² Metcalf's important discussion concludes that it was an 'experiment' without sequel, that the heavy coins could only be 'the result of a central directive', 'vigorously throughout the country put into effect, but quickly cancelled', with the heavier weight 'abandoned almost as abruptly' as it was introduced.²³ Across the Channel, Eustace II

¹⁵ R. H. M. Dolley, *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, London 1966, 135–6; B. Hudson, 'William the Conqueror and Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* 29, 1994, 145–58 at 153–6; Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century', 69.

¹⁶ A–A. Haeck, 'Les Monnaies de Baudouin IV (989–1036) et de Baudouin V (1036–1067), Comtes de Flandres', *Cercle d'Etudes Numismatique*, Bulletin 2, 1965, 24–6. For other imitations, see Spufford, *Money*, 94., and later imitations, N. J. Mayhew, 'The Circulation and Imitation of Sterlings', in *Coinage in the Low Countries*, ed. Mayhew, 54–68.

¹⁷ C. Richeb , *Les Monnaies F odales d'Artois de X au D but du XIV Si cle*, Paris 1963, 61 n.3.

¹⁸ P. Nightingale, 'The Evolution of Weight-Standards and the Creation of New Monetary and Commercial Links in Northern Europe from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *EcHR*, 2nd series 38, 1985, 192–209 at 206–7.

¹⁹ P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 13, 1986, 206.

²⁰ In the late twelfth century the sterling pennies of England and the *pfenigs* of Cologne weighed 1.4 grams each of silver 92% fine (Spufford, *Money*, 105). In 1208, the pound sterling changed hands at 20s. Cologne; in 1277 the Florentine florin was exchanged for 2s. 6d. sterling and 2s. 6pf. of Cologne (Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 210, 235).

²¹ Discussed most clearly in I. Stewart, 'Coinage and Recoinage after Edgar's Reform', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, ed. K. Jonsson, Svenska Numismatiska Meddelanden 35, Stockholm 1990, 457–84, and, especially, in Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds*, 56–72.

²² H. Bertil Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency*, Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis 22, Lund 1969, 190, 226, 262–3; Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds*, 'Expanding Cross', 158–62.

²³ Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds*, 159, 160, 161.

took an evident interest in coinage, reforming the coins of his county: they carried the name of Eustace, often with the name of the mint, and weighed 0.80 or 0.90 grams.²⁴ The policy contrasted with that of Flanders, whose coins were declining in weight from the late tenth century onwards: down to 0.6 grams, it seems, in the reign of Baldwin V (1036–1067).²⁵ It might be that the rationale of the two distinct weight standards during the crisis years lay in the contest for trade between the Boulogne interest – which had Edward's support – and the Godwine interest, and in the rise and fall of their respective influences: the heavier English weight standard, twice the weight of that of Boulogne, intended to boost trade via Boulogne; the lighter coin, double the Flemish coin in weight, intended to facilitate trade with Flemish ports and by-pass Boulogne and its count, obtaining when Godwine was influential.

The evidence of the coins themselves seems compatible with this hypothesis. The Appledore hoard discovered in 1997 demonstrated clearly that the heavier type of Expanding Cross preceded the lighter. The hoard was deposited during the period of issue: with 483 heavy coins of Expanding Cross, seven of earlier types, and none of later, it points to a burial during the period when the heavier type was in circulation, before the lighter was issued.²⁶ The hoard seems likely to have been concealed at the very time when the return of Godwine meant overrule and policy reversal, reflecting the political changes taking place in Kent and the south-east. For, while the range of mints represented confirms the country-wide issue of the heavier weight – coins of Chester, York, Lincoln and Exeter being amongst those present – coins from the heartland of the power contest predominate: Canterbury (253), London (73), Winchester (21), Hastings (21), Dover (17), and Lewes (13); from all other places of origin the coins are in single figures.²⁷ The distribution of other finds of Expanding Cross also sustains the argument that spheres of trade played their part in selecting the level of weight: even previous to the discovery of the Appledore hoard, light coins of Expanding Cross issued at Lincoln have survived predominantly in Scandinavia and northern Europe (30:8), whereas the heavy issue have been found predominantly on British soil (80:11).²⁸ Such a distribution might also, of course, associate the heavier issue with the chronicled decision to cease payment of the heregeld, the only explanation heretofore offered for the two weight standards;²⁹ albeit no one has explained who, in practice, might benefit from the introduction of a heavier weight coin.³⁰ But the coin evidence is that the heavier issue has to be placed first chronologically.

Following the return of Godwine and his sons to power in 1052, the shift in the pattern of minting suggests that the rift between the two houses may have affected the pattern of trade. In the following issue, perhaps a compromise, English coin was set at a single weight-standard somewhere between the previous two: with many

²⁴ H. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England 879–1106*, Boston 2004, 121; Richebé, *Les Monnaies Féodales*, 60–3.

²⁵ Haeck, 'Les Monnaies de Baudouin IV (989–1036) et de Baudouin V (1036–1067)', 24–6. The Flemish coins are not precisely dated, but successive series from the late tenth century to 1067 have standards of c. 1.1 grams, 0.8 g and 0.6 g; those of the reign of Baldwin V (1036–1067) are the lowest in weight. See also comments by Metcalf, 'Coinage and the Rise of Flemish Towns', 8.

²⁶ G. Williams, 'A Hoard of "Expanding Cross" Pennies from Appledore: Preliminary Report', *The Numismatic Circular* 106, 1998, 152–3.

²⁷ Williams, 'A Hoard of "Expanding Cross" Pennies from Appledore', 152–3.

²⁸ S. Lyon, 'The "Expanding Cross" Type of Edward the Confessor and the Appledore (1997) Hoard', *The Numismatic Circular* 106, 1998, 426–428 at 427. I thank Stephen Baxter for the above two references.

²⁹ ASC D, s.a. 1051.

³⁰ Scepticism already expressed in Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds*, 158

coins conforming to about 1.32 grams – although there are some exceptions, or dual standards, particularly at Norwich, Ipswich, Southwark and London, where coins as low as 1.17 or 1.12 were produced.³¹ For the remainder of Edward's reign, production from the Lincoln mint soared to nearly 24% of the total and that from Norwich rose substantially; but the production of Dover's mint was now overtaken by that of Chichester, close to the port of Bosham.³² Eustace's political activities and influence sank to 'the low point' of the early 1060s.³³

Boulogne county was in a key but awkward position: on the one hand a neighbour of Normandy and Ponthieu, on the other pressurized by Flanders – whose ruling house in 1051 offered refuge to Eustace's rivals in England, the Godwines, with St Omer and the fast-developing port of Bruges frequently giving shelter to members of the Godwine family in exile. The larger states that coveted Boulogne's unique trading position shared sympathies and, subsequently, marriage alliances. Tostig Godwineson was married to Judith, half-sister to the count of Flanders, the count whose daughter Matilda was to become William's own wife in 1051 or 1052, a marriage mooted for some time.³⁴ That Edward already sensed some danger from Flanders is suggested by his support of a German attack upon it in 1049.³⁵ Eustace evidently felt himself hemmed in, for he was sympathetic to William's opponents when the then Count of Ponthieu, Enguerrand, was slain in a campaign against William early in the 1050s.³⁶ But, after William had also defeated Count Guy, Enguerrand's successor, Guy perforce became William's vassal.³⁷ The Bayeux Tapestry's account of Earl Harold's forced landing on this coast shows Count Guy intending to detain Harold in Beaurain castle, held by a vassal of Eustace, and only reluctantly accommodating William's demands to hand over Harold.³⁸ Ponthieu and Boulogne had ties of blood and shared a common contingent at Hastings.³⁹ And Boulogne's fears were not dissimilar from Ponthieu's.

Eustace held a unique position in English politics. He had formed the closest ties with Edward and was to become a necessary ally of William. Eustace had his own distant claim to the English throne, being directly descended from King Alfred's sister. Even before Edward's recognition as heir, Eustace had supplied men to accompany Edward's brother, Alfred, on his return to England in 1036 – men murdered by Earl Godwine along with the Ætheling.⁴⁰ As the second husband of Godgifu, Edward's sister, Eustace also became the step-father of her sons, two of

³¹ H. Bertil Petersson, 'Coins and Weights: Late Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Mints c. 973–1066' in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. Jonsson, 207–433 at 348–9; Metcalf, *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds*, 162, 63–4.

³² Tables derived from numbers of known and estimated reverse dies, Metcalf, *ibid.*, 293–301.

³³ H. J. Tanner, 'The Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *ANS* 14, 1991, 251–86 at 269–70. Cf. Henry I conducted effective trade sanctions when his relations with Ireland became difficult, 'through the suspension of shipping and maritime trade (*pro interdicto navigio et mercimonio navigantium*)': Malmesbury, *Regum*, II, 484–5.

³⁴ D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, London 1964, 391–5.

³⁵ ASC C, D, s.a. 1049.

³⁶ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 65–7.

³⁷ D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, London 1982, 77.

³⁸ Tanner, 'Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne', 270; *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. F. M. Stenton, London 1957, plate 10.

³⁹ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Portrait of a People: Norman Barons Revisited', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates, Stroud 2001, 121–40 at 135–9.

⁴⁰ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, Camden Society, 3rd series 72, 1949, 42–49; Malmesbury, *Regum*, 354–5; ASC C, s.a. 1036.

King Edward's closest heirs; he also, of course, became a potential father of a possible heir for the kingdom himself, for a time. After Godgifu's death, and Eustace's own second marriage to Ida of Bouillon, which probably had taken place by 1049, it was widely known that he had married a woman who, like himself, boasted descent from the Carolingian royal line.⁴¹ According to William of Poitiers, William took the precaution of securing Eustace's son or grandson (*nepos*) as a hostage in 1066 and may have seized him again at Dover in 1067.⁴² (But the likelihood remains that the hostage was his bastard son, Geoffrey, rather than a descendant of Godgifu's.⁴³) Whatever the realities of this prospect in the eleventh century, it seems clear from its marriage alliances that the house of Boulogne never lost sight of the ambition to occupy the English throne until the death of Eustace, son of King Stephen: an imperative that helps to explain the pride and independence that chroniclers perceived in King Stephen's wife, the Boulogne heiress, and the name chosen for their joint heir.⁴⁴

So, for Eustace and the Godwine family, there lay grounds for enmity on several counts: from particular grievances over Eustace's murdered followers to rival alliances amongst the nascent western European states. Then in 1051 came Eustace's enigmatic visit to England. The E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle based in Canterbury records that Eustace 'told the king what he wished, and then went homewards'.⁴⁵ But, on his return – according to E – and in full armour, Eustace deliberately provoked a military skirmish with the householders of Dover, in which at least thirty-nine men were killed and many more injured.⁴⁶ It is difficult to make sense of the assertive aggression his men displayed when their wish 'to lodge where it suited their own convenience' was denied by one householder, unless it inferred some expectation of a right to sustenance and billeting.⁴⁷ Yet the native chroniclers' particular mention of householders and townsmen in the incident may carry import, since various forms of mint-taxes levied on the European continent in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries were based and levied upon the urban household and hearth,⁴⁸ whereas in England before 1066 mint-taxes were the responsibility of the

⁴¹ Both were descended from Charles the Bald: family trees in Tanner, 'Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne', 256–7. His second marriage seems to have taken place by 1049, since Eustace was excommunicated at the Council of Rheims for marriage within the prohibited degrees (F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, Berkeley 1970, 308; Tanner, 'Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne', 263). Given his affinity with the English royal line, it could be argued that the sentence might equally refer to his marriage with Edward's sister, necessarily dating his marriage to Ida later. But it would seem more appropriate for the pope to have condemned a recent, and repeated, breach rather than a long-established liaison involving a mature woman with two grown sons.

⁴² Poitiers, 182–5; cf. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 307–8, who argues that the *nepos* may have been a grandson of Godgifu's.

⁴³ Tanner, 'Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne', 266 n.26.

⁴⁴ Eustace IV became a monk at Cluny, c. 1125, giving his lands to his daughter Matilda, the spouse of Stephen of Blois. It was agreed in 1153 with Henry of Anjou that Stephen's son, William of Blois, should hold the lands that Stephen had held before he became king, but in 1159 Henry seized them for the crown (I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies, 1086–1327*, Oxford 1963, 151; eg. *Gesta Stephani* ed. K. R. Potter, London 1955, 81, 83, 85).

⁴⁵ ASC E, s.a. 1051.

⁴⁶ ASC E, s.a. 1051, cf. *en route* according to the northern 'D'; A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England*, London 1988, 140.

⁴⁷ ASC E, s.a. 1051.

⁴⁸ The subject is explored thoroughly in T. N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon c. A.D.1000–c. 1225*, Oxford 1979.

moneyers.⁴⁹ It was only under William I that a second tax known as *monetagium* was levied upon urban property and added to the farm.⁵⁰ Without more clues, we remain in the dusk. But the incident unleashed the distrust of foreign influence felt in Anglo-Saxon society. At Eustace's request, the king required Godwine, as Earl of Kent, to punish the householders of Dover. The king's request was the spark that set alight the Godwine family's antipathy to Edward's continental connections, and led to their open rebellion, the 1051 crisis and its aftermath in their exile, followed by their triumphant return in 1052 with the aid of Baldwin of Flanders.

Under the Conqueror as under the Confessor, Eustace may well have aspired to the control of Dover and its mint. It was certainly the case that his attempt in 1067 to take the town and castle by force was not merely a forlorn enterprise, but otherwise almost inexplicable, since he had already received extensive lands from King William.⁵¹ Ann Williams has suggested the impulse at work: 'Eustace's actions look very like an attempt by a disgruntled man to seize what he thought was his due'; the 1067 raid was 'in the tradition of similar expeditions by ... dispossessed lords attempting to regain their rights'.⁵² William may well have bid for Eustace's support in 1066 by some empty offer of Dover, with the aim of playing off two of his rivals against each other.⁵³ Harold's Dover fortifications posed a major obstacle to William, as they presumably had to Eustace. Moreover, some Kentish men at least looked in favour of an alliance with Eustace, and gave encouragement and support to his 1067 attack on Dover.⁵⁴ Men of Kent had long been renowned for their particular interest in trade.⁵⁵ And despite Eustace's attack on Dover, with its resultant confiscation of his lands, the Bayeux Tapestry was careful to depict him as William's major ally; and William felt obliged to restore Eustace's lands in the 1070s.⁵⁶ The ambitions of the leaders of Normandy and Boulogne made for mutual wariness and conflict, yet both had motives to remain allies – of a sort – in order to avoid serious difficulties on their own door-steps.

The comital house was certainly interested in trade and its profits. Eustace II kept an organized baronial court for his lands in England. In fact he may have kept two; one at St Martin-le-Grand, formerly the centre of the royal chaplain and administrator Ingelric's activities, and one for his lands in eastern England. He had an extensive *familia* complete with chamberlain – a group of 'wise and just men' who gave him *concilium*.⁵⁷ He kept under direct management at least 52 of the 140 units of land given him by William.⁵⁸ His son, Eustace III, was known to have kept records of comital exactions – of taxes on tolls, fishing rights, dyke-building,

⁴⁹ D. M. Metcalf, 'The Taxation of Moneyers under Edward the Confessor', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 279–94.

⁵⁰ P. Grierson, 'The Monetary System under William I', in *Domesday Book: Studies*, eds A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, London 1987, 75–9 at 77.

⁵¹ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 269.

⁵² *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1997, 16.

⁵³ William of Poitiers records Earl Harold's promise in 1064 to fortify a castle at Dover for Duke William (Poitiers, 70–1).

⁵⁴ Poitiers, 164–5, 182–5; Jumièges, II, 176–79.

⁵⁵ Poitiers, 164–5.

⁵⁶ P. Taylor, 'Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-le-Grand', *ANS* 24, 2001, 215–37 at 232, puts the probable timing of the reconciliation between 1071 and 1074.

⁵⁷ Mentioned in 'Count Eustace's Restitution', Appendix 3, in Taylor, 'Ingelric', 237.

⁵⁸ Tanner, *Boulogne and Politics*, 124–5.

pontage, whales, sheepfold and military service, as well as of traditional labour services and customary dues.⁵⁹

The house of Boulogne also discloses its especial interest in trading and coinage in the England of Domesday Book. It is known that the Boulogne estates included access to the Thames estuary.⁶⁰ It is less well-known that the estates of Eustace and his countess record particular requirements for the type of coin and silver paid – requirements that were a crown prerogative. Others were obliged to accept the king's coinage at face value. King Edgar had asserted that no man was to refuse his coinage, and Æthelred reinforced the principle that no one was to 'refuse pure money of proper weight in whatsoever town in my kingdom it be coined'.⁶¹ Yet in Surrey, one of the count's paid by weight, and one of the countess of Boulogne's manors paid at 20*d. in ora*.⁶² Moreover, Eustace's manor of Tring used his own weight for coins, paying *de albis denariis ad pensum huius comitis*.⁶³ In Hampshire, Eustace's is the only non-royal manor with an added coin requirement, albeit one simply *ad numerum*, that is 'by tale', or 'by counting', 'at face value'. Payments at 20*d. in ora* (some 43 in all) find record in Domesday Book; yet their import is still not agreed.⁶⁴ The Domesday record of a single payment at 20*d. in ora* before 1066 has led to the search for the origin of these requirements in Edward the Confessor's reign or earlier.⁶⁵ It might even be that Eustace had some hand in introducing to England a measure compatible with those in use by merchants at the great continental fairs and in the great minting centre of Cologne. At any rate, under the Conqueror, he was permitted to employ the same methods for the receipt of monies as those peculiar to the English crown. Of course, if Eustace II had died a year or so earlier than often thought, and his estates were temporarily farmed by royal agents, this would offer an alternative explanation of these prerogative payments.⁶⁶

Yet even a putative minority of Eustace III does not explain away the clear Domesday statement of the requirement of 'white pence [probably denoting newly-minted pence] at the weight of this count'.⁶⁷ Certainly Domesday Book bears witness that Eustace II and the house of Boulogne were punctilious about silver currency and that they insisted upon receipts of the highest standards of silver in England

⁵⁹ Tanner, *Boulogne and Politics*, 165.

⁶⁰ Eg. Fobbing, Benfleet, Hoddesdon, Maldon.

⁶¹ Robertson, III Edgar, 8; IV Æthelred, 6.

⁶² GDB, 34: *DB Surrey*, 15,2;16,1.

⁶³ GDB, 137: *DB Herts*, 17,1.

⁶⁴ For example, S. Harvey, 'Royal Revenue and Domesday Terminology', *EcHR*, 2nd series 20, 1967, 221–228; S. Lyon, 'Silver Weight and Minted Weight in England c. 1000–1320, with a Discussion of Domesday Terminology, Edwardian Farthings and the Origin of English Troy', *British Numismatic Journal* 76, 2006, 227–41; P. Nightingale, 'English Medieval Weight-Standards Re-visited', *British Numismatics Journal* 78, 2008, 177–193; S. Lyon, 'Comments on Pamela Nightingale, "English Medieval Weight-Standards Revisited"', *British Numismatic Journal* 78, 2008, 194–99.

⁶⁵ GDB, 230: *DB Leics*, C1; eg. Nightingale, 'Weight-Standards Re-visited', 179.

⁶⁶ One indicator of Eustace II's death is that Domesday gives the countess of Boulogne separate tenant-in-chief status. Tanner puts Eustace II's death at c. 1089 in *Boulogne and Politics*, 245, but in 'Expansion and Power of the Counts of Boulogne', 276, suggests 1087. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, Woodbridge 1998, 196, gives 1087. E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, 2nd edn, 6 vols., Oxford 1876, IV, 129–130, 743–5, puts Eustace II's death before the Survey, citing a charter dated c. 1082 that calls Ida, countess of Boulogne, *venerabilis vidua*. See also H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols, London 1833, I, 384–5, 416; J. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, Cambridge 1997, 42, puts his death before DB.

⁶⁷ See my chapter on 'Coinage, the Treasury, and "the Exchequer"', in *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (forthcoming).

as well as in Boulogne. Eustace's views on currency and trading may explain the purport of his visit in 1051, the curious dual weight-standard of English coinage issued during those crisis years, and the rationale for his two attacks on Dover. The dynasty's concern formed a coherent part of their continual interest in the prosperity of cross-Channel trade. A 'trade war' was arguably yet another dimension to the house of Boulogne's rivalry with the house of Godwine – to whose study Ann Williams has contributed so much.

THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE: STIGAND, THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE *HISTORIA ANGLORUM*

K. S. B. Keats-Rohan

Who commissioned the Bayeux Tapestry and why? The question remains open after a considerable body of innovative new writing on the subject during the last decade has given grounds for a major re-evaluation of the Tapestry. Two ideas in particular demand fuller investigation: first, that the Tapestry is an independent, pro-English, source, artistically the first major fusion of Anglo-Norman-Scandinavian iconography and linguistically influenced by both English and French, and secondly, that it was produced as early as 1068 x 1070, since it precedes the Norman vilification of Harold that arose as a response to the various revolts that began in May 1068.¹ Despite the ingenuity of attempts to demonstrate the contrary intention from the curious figures appearing in the borders, the fact is that not a single pejorative is ever attached to Harold in the *tituli* of the work.² Recent detailed studies of the depictions of Harold show him to have been represented with honour even in the tightest of corners.³ The Tapestry therefore certainly predates the systematic assault on Harold as a perjured usurper, and thus a tyrant whose reign was thereby nullified, which was the legal case fashioned by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury and subsequently presented at Rome, as demonstrated nearly twenty years ago by George Garnett. A similar assault was made on the prelacy and memory of Lanfranc's predecessor Stigand, who had controversially been appointed whilst the archbishop ousted in 1052 still lived.⁴ A more longstanding tendency to date the Tapestry to 1070 x 1082,

¹ See the contributions by François Neveux, Pierre Bouet, Maylis Baylé and Barbara English in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, ed. P. Bouet, B. Levy and F. Neveux, Caen 2004; E. C. Pastan and S. White, 'Problematising Patronage: Odo of Bayeux and the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*, ed. M. K. Foys, K. Overbey and D. Terkla, Woodbridge 2009, 1–24; C. R. Hart, 'The Bayeux Tapestry and Schools of Illumination at Canterbury', *ANS* 22, 2000, 117–68; R. Gameson, 'The Origin, Art and Message of the Bayeux Tapestry', in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. R. Gameson, Woodbridge 1997, 157–210; I. Short, 'The Language of the Bayeux Tapestry Inscriptions', *ANS* 23, 2001, 267–8. Sincere apologies to all those whose work cannot be mentioned in so short an essay. I am very grateful to Professor Miguel Alarcão of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa for an invitation to talk about the Bayeux Tapestry in 2007, which is where this paper started life. My thanks also to David Bates for his comments on an earlier draft.

² Gameson, 'Origin, Art and Message', 202: 'What nuances and innuendos a Norman viewer may have seen in all this, and whatever sardonic comments some beholders may have perceived in the borders, Harold is depicted (like Oedipus) as a good man who did a bad deed and paid the price.' Cf. S. A. Brown, 'Cognate Imagery: the Bear, Harold, and the Bayeux Tapestry', in *Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker, Woodbridge 2005, 149–60; G. R. Owen-Crocker, 'The Bayeux "Tapestry": Invisible Seams and Visible Boundaries', *ASE* 31, 2002, 257–73.

³ P. Bouet, 'Is the Tapestry pro-English?', in *Embroidering the Facts*, 197–216; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry: a Critical Introduction', in *Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, 2005, 1–15.

⁴ G. Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', *TRHS*, 5th series 36, 1986, 91–116.

with Bishop Odo as the generally assumed patron, has entailed some fairly contorted attempts to understand the inter-relationships between this and contemporary or near contemporary written sources.⁵ A much earlier date for the Tapestry entails some far-reaching consequences affecting both the content and also the relationships between all the conquest sources, both English and 'Norman'.

Key aspects of the Tapestry's narrative must therefore be re-examined in order to clarify both its genesis and purpose and also its relationship to other works that bear witness to individual and collective responses to the events of 1066. Although 'these accounts were not compiled to record objective fact and to preserve history; but rather to make it', they must not be treated as propaganda.⁶ They aimed to relate, understand and explain what happened, from a variety of personal perspectives and agenda; but they are first and last historical narratives. The richness of the sources viewed in this light is paralleled only by the sources generated by the First Crusade.

The association of the Bayeux Tapestry with Canterbury and with Bishop Odo of Bayeux – who figures in some of the more striking scenes – is now so well-established that it need not be questioned, but this does not in itself require that Bishop Odo be the *patron* of the Tapestry. It is the central premise of this paper that he was the intended *beneficiary* of this extraordinary artefact which was *commissioned by an Englishman*. Once that step is taken, the Tapestry can be better understood in relation to other sources of the period, such as the *Vita Eadwardi*, *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio*, the uninterpolated Conquest paragraphs in the account of William of Jumièges, and William of Poitiers. The process leads to a new way of looking at the evolution of the Conquest narrative. At that point it is possible to deduce the lost ending of the Tapestry (and yes, of course, it included the coronation of William).

The clues to the identification of the patron-designer are various. The most important lie in the Tapestry's presentation of Harold as chief protagonist and a hero until his death, as well as the visual prominence of Odo bishop of Bayeux and his strong connexion to places and people named in the *tituli* of the Tapestry, the iconographic links to manuscripts of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, and to Mont-St-Michel in Normandy and these abbeys' relationship to the persons occurring in the Tapestry and its informants. Buildings sacred and secular appear at regular intervals in a narrative that is as much about closeness to contemporary centres of power and its operation as it is about the horrors of war and the consequences of sin. The allusions to the world of Classical learning, identified by art historians in references to Virgil's Aeneid, for example, and the Tapestry materials of linen and wool, point to a clerical origin as well as an intended clerical recipient and audience. Sandy Heslop has strongly argued the former point and is convinced that the Tapestry was intended for display in or near Canterbury by Odo, a known patron of poets and writers of the so-called Loire school.⁷ Learning as exemplified there was far from unknown in England. The use of the Classics in teaching and writing can be demonstrated from the tenth-century revival onward, and it has been argued that the Anonymous recruited by Queen Edith to write the *Vita Eadwardi Regis* was himself a member of the Loire school; this text is generally acknowledged to have been complete

⁵ Eg. S. A. Brown, 'The Bayeux Tapestry: History or Propaganda?', in *The Anglo-Saxons, Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J. D. Woods and D. A. E. Pelteret, Waterloo 1985, 11–25.

⁶ Gameson, 'Origin, Art and Message', 205.

⁷ S. Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry: Bishop Odo and his Circle', *Art History* 32/2, 2009, 223–249.

by 1068.⁸ Only three commentators to date have tried to argue for a patron other than Odo and none has found favour, rightly, because none of them comes close to resolving the many questions raised by the Tapestry as a source.⁹

Richard Koch's point that the tapestry materials – the linen associated from Egyptian times with priestly rank, and in Christian times with purity, used for making priestly vestments, for example – indicate a clerical origin, its patron therefore a religious and the embroidery executed by aristocratic nuns, is telling.¹⁰ Odo was bishop of Bayeux (c. 1059/60) and from late 1067 earl of Kent. He became a benefactor of St Augustine's, Canterbury, but had no over-arching ecclesiastical authority over churches of the archdiocese. That authority, until April 1070, nominally belonged to Archbishop Stigand, the fabulously wealthy pluralist who was the arch-politician of the late Old English state. Because of the papal anathemas his uncanonical appointment and subsequent acceptance of a pallium from an anti-pope had attracted, he tended to work through other prelates, including his northern counterpart Ealdred of York. His was an extraordinary career. Born in East Anglia into a modest Anglo-Scandinavian background, from a position as mass-priest to King Cnut (d. 1035) he went on to acquire enormous wealth and influence through a number of promotions, starting as bishop of Elmham in 1043, Winchester in 1045 and Canterbury in 1052, having loyally served each king in turn from Cnut to William I, enjoying the confidence of queens, and remaining friends also with the Godwinesons during the years between 1045 and 1053 when their relationship with King Edward was at best strained. He also enjoyed a close and co-operative working relationship with Harold's protégé, the only slightly less controversial Ealdred archbishop of York (d. 1069), whose despairing sense that the nation had been punished for its sins in October 1066 permeates the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which also reflects his attempts to craft the new order as a legitimate succession.¹¹ After Hastings Stigand had championed briefly the cause of Edgar Ætheling before swiftly realizing that the wisest course was the submission of the kingdom to William, as William of Poitiers tells us.¹² What Stigand feared most after William's coronation was losing his position at the heart of power. When William took senior Englishmen with him on a triumphal tour of Normandy from around 1 March to 6 December 1067, including Stigand, both to honour them and to prevent them mischief-making, Odo of Bayeux was one of two co-regents left in England, with special charge of Dover and the region of Kent, of which he was made earl in the autumn. Odo was a good and cultured bishop, but he was also a soldier and a politi-

⁸ E. Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Vergil's *Aeneid*', *Viator* 36, 2005, 149–79; E. Tyler, 'The *Vita Eadwardi*: the Politics of Poetry at Wilton Abbey', *ANS* 34, 2012 (my thanks to her for a copy in advance of publication); E. K. Heningham, 'The Literary Unity, the Date, and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: The Life of King Edward Who Rests in Westminster', *Albion* 7, 1975, 24–40.

⁹ G. Beech, *Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France? The Case for St Florent of Saumur*, Basingstoke 1995; C. Hicks, 'The Patronage of Queen Edith', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. M. J. Lewis, G. R. Owen-Crocker and D. Terkla, Oxford 2011, 5–9; A. Bridgeford, *1066: the Hidden History of the Bayeux Tapestry*, London 2004. Queen Matilda has also been suggested, most recently by Michael Leete at <http://www.bayeuxtapestry.co.uk/>, accessed 18/08/2011, on the basis of Scandinavian texts. These are most unlikely to have been influential (if even written) during the timeframe of the Tapestry's creation.

¹⁰ R. M. Koch, 'Sacred Threads: the Bayeux Tapestry as a Religious Object', *Peregrinations* 2:4, http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol2_3/current.html, accessed 18/08/2011.

¹¹ D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, 129–41 at 130–1.

¹² M. F. Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16, 1994, 199–220; Poitiers, 146.

cian who enjoyed the exercise of power and its perquisite, the accrual of wealth.¹³ Both he and Stigand were patrons of monasteries to which they gave costly and beautiful artefacts. Two of a kind, such men were predestined to understand one other. It is proposed, then, to see in Archbishop Stigand the patron of the Tapestry and the genius behind the remarkable multivalency of the medium through which its message was conveyed – an historiated narrative – which ensured that neither his unswerving loyalty to Harold nor his appreciation of and flattery towards Odo would alienate other Normans and their mighty leader. A lengthy Bayeux Tapestry historiography of diametrically opposed opinions about the pro/anti Norman, pro/anti Harold/English nature of the Tapestry's message is a tribute to his success.

To explore this premise, it is proposed to reappraise aspects of the Tapestry [BT] version of certain events leading to the Norman invasion, namely the reasons for Harold's visit to the Continent in 1064; the Breton campaign; Harold's return to Edward and Edward's death; and the months of Harold's kingship. Demands of space limit the principal additional sources discussed to *Vita Eadwardi Regis* [*Vita*], commissioned by Edward's widow Edith, and *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* [*Carmen*], by Guy bishop of Amiens, both immediately post-Conquest works completed by the end of 1068;¹⁴ the Norman chronicles of William of Poitiers [Poitiers], written between 1071 and 1077, and William of Jumièges [Jumièges], the Conquest parts of which were written between 1067 and early 1070; the various versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC C, giving the royalist or Mercian viewpoint, D the northern viewpoint, heavily influenced by Ealdred bishop of Worcester then archbishop of York (d. 1069), and E, the Godwinist version, written at St Augustine's Canterbury); and, from the following generation, the *Historia Novorum in Anglia* of Eadmer of Canterbury (c. 1060–c. 1126).

Neither ASC nor *Vita* make specific references to Harold's visits to the Continent, though two are known, in autumn 1056 and in late spring/early summer 1064. Hence the Tapestry, produced soon after the Conquest, is the only authentic contemporary 'English' version of why Harold went abroad in 1064.¹⁵ By the likely latest date for the BT's completion, at the end of 1069, the 'Norman' version of the event was taking shape. The urtext is the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges, to which the uninterpolated Conquest passages were added by early 1070, following a request by William the Conqueror made during his visit to Normandy in 1067.¹⁶ Jumièges states simply that the childless Edward had in the past sent Robert archbishop of Canterbury to William to appoint his heir. Later that offer was formalized by the sending of Harold, his greatest subject, to seal it with oaths. On the trip Harold landed in Ponthieu and was waylaid by Count Guy, from whom he was rescued by William. After a pleasant visit, including the oath, he was sent home to the king with many gifts. That is it. Poitiers, writing after the vilification

¹³ D. R. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–97)', *Speculum* 50, 1975, 1–20. Cf. F. Neveux, 'The Bayeux Tapestry as Original Source', in *Embroidering the Facts*, 179–89; idem., 'Conclusions', *ibid.*, 403–10 at 406; V. Flint, 'The Bayeux Tapestry, the Bishop and the Laity', *ibid.*, 217–33.

¹⁴ For these two, see Frank Barlow's editions and introductions; E. M. C. van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court, 1066–1135: the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *JMH* 15, 1989, 39–62; G. Orlandi, 'Some Afterthoughts on the *Carmen*', in *Media Latinitas*, ed. R. I. A. Nipp *et al.*, Turnhout 1996, 117–27.

¹⁵ P. Grierson, 'A Visit of Earl Harold to Flanders in 1056', *EHR* 51, 1936, 90–7; Beech, *Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France?*; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and Normans in the non-Norman Conquest', *ANS* 13, 1991, 157–72.

¹⁶ Jumièges, I, xlv–liv.

of Harold had begun, gives a rather more developed version, intended as panegyric and *apologia* for his patron King William, alleging that the original designation had been ratified by Archbishop Stigand, Earl Godwine, Earl Leofric and Earl Siward.¹⁷ This would date it between the restoration of Godwine in 1052 and his death the following year. In 1052 Godwine's return, with a show of force, forced the unpopular Norman archbishop of Canterbury Robert of Jumièges to flee back to his monastery in Normandy, with Stigand appointed to take his place. Although there is no reason to doubt ASC D's statement that Edward was visited by William of Normandy in 1051, there is no support in any English source for the offer of the throne to William then or subsequently. It is important to remember that all the surviving sources are written with hindsight, that is, they acknowledge what had happened on Hastings field and were attempting to come to terms with it. For the English, it was particularly difficult because traumatic, and doubly so for the few surviving high-status English people trying to survive in the new order. Queen Edith's response was to commission the *Vita*, Stigand's the Bayeux Tapestry. But note also that Stigand and the grandsons of Earl Leofric, Edwin and Morcar, were all taken with William to Normandy in 1067; it is known that William attended the consecration of the new church at Jumièges during that visit, when he probably asked William of Jumièges to add a note on the conquest to his work.¹⁸ Is it possible that 'the Norman version' was influenced by conversation with the English hostages, including England's greatest *eminence grise*?¹⁹ The BT itself pays at least lip-service to this version: Harold does swear an oath – significantly, at Bayeux – but no hint is ever made as to the content of the oath.

Harold's journey dominates the opening scenes in the BT. In the first, Harold is in conversation with Edward, who is seated, crowned and holding a sceptre. Both extend a finger, each touching the other, interpreted by Ann Williams as an indication of Harold's high status and closeness to the king.²⁰ By 1064 both men must have been acutely aware of the danger confronting the country on the ageing king's death without heirs, but this scene offers no hint of a commission to offer the succession to William, such as the giving of a token. Rather, it looks like a leave-taking. Harold has either formally asked for, and received, permission from his lord to withdraw from court on some business which he has disclosed, or this business has in fact been formulated in consultation with the king. His status and importance are unquestionable. No mere earl of Wessex, the title of *dux Anglorum* accorded by the designer to Harold as he leaves the king is truly remarkable; it outranks the man simply labelled as *Willelmus Dux* and has rightly been compared in significance to the title *dux Francorum* borne by the father of the first Capetian king of France.²¹ This extraordinary title is the first significant indication that the librettist was an Englishman telling an English story in a way outwardly acceptable to the Normans. In the following scenes, Harold's *pietas*, power and attractiveness

¹⁷ Cf. Bates, 'Conqueror's Earliest Historians', 132–3.

¹⁸ Jumièges, I, 172.

¹⁹ For the suggestion of Morcar as a source for Poitiers after he was sent to Normandy following his capture at Ely in 1071, see E. M. C. van Houts, 'The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Tradition', *ANS* 19, 1997, 167–79 at 175.

²⁰ A. Williams, 'How to be Rich: the Presentation of Earl Harold in the Early Sections of the Bayeux Tapestry', in *New Approaches*, 66–70 at 66–7.

²¹ Shrewdly observed, as ever, by our honorand, at *ibid.*, 69–70; cf Bouet, 'Is the Tapestry pro-English?', 198.

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Figure 1: Harold, dux Anglorum, in conversation with Edward the Confessor: detail of the Bayeux Tapestry – eleventh century, with special permission from the City of Bayeux.

as lord, are demonstrated in his preparations for his journey, by his visit to Bosham church, one of his family's chief manors.

Harold's absence is unremarked in contemporary English sources, though it was later alleged by Eadmer – one of whose informants was a bishop who was kinsman to Harold²² – that Harold travelled in order to seek the release of his uncle and cousin who had been sent as hostages to Normandy many years before. The hostages had been given not when Harold's father Earl Godwine rebelled against Edward in 1051 and before his exile, but upon his return, because the king did not trust him fully when he restored him and his sons to their honours. This idea is usually dismissed as implausible in view of Godwine's strength, but it has support from the Godwinist E version of the ASC, which attributes the idea to Stigand, then bishop of Winchester, the king's advisor and chaplain, and other wise men.²³ There was also the question of Edward's own kin: the fate of his nephew Walter of Mantes was probably still unknown. By that date the power of William had become unnerving to more than one of his Continental neighbours. There was every reason to be concerned as to any ambitions he was nurturing in regard to England. The *Vita* hints at a secretive information-gathering visit to the Continent by Harold; deliberately or unavoidably obscure, it possibly refers to this visit of 1064. According to Eadmer, Edward reluctantly gave his permission, but warned Harold that potentially grave consequences for the country might follow.²⁴

Harold's family was accustomed to sail from the port near Bosham to the Continent, normally to Wissant, controlled by the count of Flanders who had been an ally of Godwine and some of his family and was brother-in-law to Harold's brother Tostig. The count of Flanders was not, however, an ally of Edward, although he was currently on better terms with Edward's old friend and former brother-in-law Count Eustace of Boulogne.²⁵ The Tapestry shows the voyage, with the wind full in the sails of the ship. Nothing suggests that the ship was blown off course or shipwrecked, as alleged by next-generation chroniclers such as Eadmer and William of Malmesbury.

²² I. W. Walker, *Harold the Last Anglo-Saxon King*, Stroud 1997, 95.

²³ Eadmer, *HN*, 5–6; ASC E, s.a.1052.

²⁴ *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, Oxford 1992, cited throughout as *Vita*, 50–3; Eadmer, *HN*, 6.

²⁵ *Vita*, 36; H. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879–1160*, Leiden and Boston 2004, 69–128.

But when his party came ashore in the land of Count Guy of Ponthieu, Harold was seized – *apprehendit* – by Count Guy. This was clearly undesirable, but had it been anticipated? Bosham to Ponthieu is a somewhat oblique route if Rouen is the destination. Whilst acknowledging that there is no contemporary support for any theory of what Harold was doing – though the *Vita* hints at a top secret mission – Higham has suggested that Harold may have gone to Ponthieu hoping ‘to build up some sort of anti-Norman party among the principal powers of north-west France to include his family’s old allies in Flanders and the Counts of Ponthieu and Boulogne – whose interests certainly did not coincide with those of William as regards the English succession’.²⁶ Such a move was risky and would certainly have needed Edward’s approval. Higham convincingly suggests that Harold’s detention in Ponthieu was for his protection (in which case it may have been anticipated), the opposite of what the Norman chroniclers allege, and ‘Guy’s apparent unwillingness to release the English earl into William’s custody is at least indicative of some separate but now veiled agenda’. The conversation between Guy and Harold is indeed depicted with an intensity that might suggest the preliminary exchanges aimed at a secret accord. If Harold’s mission was related in some way to the hostages of his own and Edward’s family in William’s power, a discussion with Guy about his experience of his two years imprisonment at Bayeux following defeat by William in 1054 could have been very useful. More significantly still, Guy is then shown to take Harold eastwards to Beaurain, a considerable distance from the coast and close to the south-eastern border of the county of Boulogne, controlled by Guy’s kinsman Eustace, Edward’s ally and former brother-in-law.²⁷ En route to Normandy it certainly was not. But William’s spies had picked up the scent and Harold’s mission, whatever it was, was already unravelling. Messengers arrived from William demanding the surrender of Harold. Detached from Edward’s allies in the counties of Ponthieu and Boulogne, Harold was taken by Guy to Eu (according to Poitiers), and thence courteously and hospitably, but nonetheless under constraint, to William’s palace, probably at Rouen, in Normandy. Since neither Jumièges nor Poitiers suggest an accidental arrival at Ponthieu, yet go on to allege that Harold had to be rescued from the local count so that he could achieve his mission to William, we might a second time start to wonder whether ‘the Norman version’ of the background to Hastings was not initially formed or informed by contact with the vanquished English notables, chief among them Stigand in 1067. The contrast between the stark uninterpolated early version of Jumièges and the elaborated post-vilification text of Poitiers is important to bear in mind throughout.

If Harold’s mission had been connected in any way with the fate of his relatives and Edward’s, he must have intended a visit to William at some point. He may have hoped to do so from a position of strength following the successful outcome of his previous mission to Ponthieu and Boulogne. He had failed in the first and was now compromised in the second. Walter of Mantes and his wife had died in William’s prison, as he now probably learnt, further proof of William’s already well-documented ruthlessness. According to Eadmer, the hostages now became part of an extended act of blackmail by William, though Harold did eventually return home with one of them, his nephew Hacun. A recurring theme among the chroniclers,

²⁶ *Vita*, 50–53 (where more than one trip is probably hinted at: Harold was certainly at St-Omer in 1056); N. J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, Stroud 1997, 158–9; cf. A. F. J. van Kempen, ‘The Mercian Connection, Harold Godwinson’s Ambitions, Diplomacy and Channel-crossing, 1056–1066’, *History* 94, 2009, 2–19.

²⁷ Cf. Barlow, *Carmen*, liii.

Norman and English, is that a marriage alliance was mooted at this meeting. Some, including Eadmer, allege a double alliance: Harold's sister to a Norman noble, and a daughter of William to Harold, in return for Harold's support of William when he came to take the throne of England.²⁸ Orderic later alleged that an oath was taken by Harold at Rouen.²⁹ The obdurately mysterious scene at Rouen involving a cleric and a woman identified as Ælfgýva possibly related to this putative marriage treaty.

In the next major episode Harold accompanies William on a minatory expedition to Brittany. This episode is otherwise only mentioned in Poitiers, in a very much shorter form and in a different order of events. The BT's purpose here is clearly different from that of Poitiers. No other source mentions that the Normans entered via the bay of Mont-St-Michel, notorious for its quicksands, as they should have been well aware. Caught by the sudden withdrawal of the tide, several were rescued by the unquestionably heroic actions of Earl Harold, whose story this has been up till now and will continue to be. Amongst the observers was Bishop Odo.³⁰ It cannot be seriously suggested that the librettist is inventing any of these otherwise unrecorded scenes – the piece was clearly intended for a large and well-informed audience, so we must assume that persons connected with the events bore witness to them when BT was designed. The actual *casus belli* was an appeal by a Breton border lord, Rivallon of Dol, who had sought William's aid against Conan II of Brittany, perhaps in relation to a holding in the Norman Avranchin. First associated with William by an attestation at Domfront in 1063, his links with Mont-St-Michel went back to the time of Abbot Suppo (1033–1048), with whom he entered an agreement to protect the abbey's land at Pontorson on the Norman-Breton border in return for confraternity for himself and his family.³¹ The Breton counts, like those of Maine, had been benefactors of Mont-St-Michel from at least the tenth century, and had encouraged the abbey's sense of identity which had frequently led it into conflict with the Norman dukes.³² Conan II, shown in BT without his title of count, was the son of Alan III of Brittany (d. 1040) who was a benefactor of the abbey and a cousin and former guardian of William of Normandy.

The first action shown is the relief of the siege of Dol, from which Conan is seen to flee to his capital at Rennes. The final scene, and the first to suggest genuine bellicosity in the word *pugnant*, is a siege of Dinan, of which Conan extended the keys at the point of his lance towards William. BT goes far beyond any extant Breton evidence, which shows, however, that Rivallon and Conan did quarrel but were reconciled before Conan's death in December 1066.³³ The action at Dinan is especially puzzling – it is not so far from Dol (26 km) but is some distance from Rennes (54 km south of Dol) – and is not attested elsewhere. It suggests, like the scene in the bay of Mont-St-Michel, a local informant, but this one was no friend of Conan II.

We may dwell at this point on the potential informants of the BT's librettist. The body of evidence suggesting that the principal location of the Tapestry's design and

²⁸ Eadmer, *HN*, 7–8; Poitiers, 156–7; Jumièges, II, 262–3.

²⁹ M. Chibnall, 'Orderic Vitalis and the Bayeux Tapestry', in *Embroidering the Past*, 127–34.

³⁰ For Odo, cf. Neveux, 'Tapestry as Original Source', 175–9; Heslop, 'Regarding the Spectators of the Bayeux Tapestry', 224–5.

³¹ *Regesta*, Bates, 269; *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 210)*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Donington 2006, App. II.4.

³² For the background and literature for this section, see *Cartulary Mont-Saint-Michel*, App. III, 216–30; Beech, *Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France?*, *passim*; Poitiers, 70–1.

³³ Keats-Rohan, 'Bretons and Normans', 219–21.

execution was St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, is impressive. Art historians far better qualified than I have made the case very cogently, pointing out that the shared iconography, common among communities with lively scriptoria, leads primarily to Mont-St-Michel, which had achieved the status of leading artistic centre from the late-tenth to mid-eleventh century.³⁴ It has been noted before that Odo bishop of Bayeux, commonly assumed to have been the patron/commissioner of the Tapestry, had good relations with St Augustines's.³⁵ He was remembered as a benefactor and *confrater* in the abbey's necrology, which was produced by 1100. Pastan and White go further and point to other significant entries: those of King Edward, King Harold 'and our many brothers who died with him', King William, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Wadard *miles* of St Augustine, and Vital, *frater* of St Augustine, all of them named in BT, the last two being tenants of Odo and St Augustine's after 1066; the figure named Turolde also belongs to this group. More contentious are the occurrence of a Eustace, and five Ælfgývas. This, they argue, locates the perspective of the Tapestry within the context of the place where it was made, rather than in the specifically Norman perspective of its supposed patron Bishop Odo. They omit the equally important entries of Queen Emma (5 March) and Earl Godwine (15 April).³⁶

Monastic necrologies are extremely important witnesses to the history of an abbey. They include the names of people who are special to the community in some way – and by the same token, they exclude those who are not. The later a necrology, the more difficult it becomes to argue the significance of an omission, but in the case of St Augustine's, and the obituaries of Christ Church, all early, the significance of the inclusion of Stigand in the former and his absence in the latter is considerable.³⁷ Equally noteworthy is the omission of Queen Edith from the necrology of St Augustine's, and the more eloquent still omission of Archbishop Lanfranc. His relationship with the monks after the death of Abbot Scolland in 1087 did irremediable harm to that community.³⁸

Pastan and White make the reasonable assumption, as have Gameson and others, that the Mont-St-Michel influences on the art at St Augustine's and in the Tapestry were linked to the appointment of the Mont's treasurer and scribe Scolland as St Augustine's abbot from 1070 (consecrated only in 1072). All accept Odo as patron. But if Bouet is right to re-date the Tapestry to 1069 we have a problem. So can we resolve this problem and account for both the English perspective and also the Tapestry's unique episodes at Mont-St-Michel and in Brittany, requiring as they do a source close to the events and with local knowledge?

Only one of the named figures in the Tapestry has not yet been mentioned. It has been conjectured to represent Count Eustace of Boulogne, who, despite all Edward's efforts, eventually threw in his lot with William and fought at Hastings. More recently however, this attribution has been questioned and the very much more convincing suggestion has been made that the figure in question is William's other (constantly under-estimated) half-brother, Robert count of Mortain, who is

³⁴ Eg. J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St Michel 966–1100*, Oxford 1970; Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage'.

³⁵ See note 13.

³⁶ Pastan and White, 'Problematizing Patronage', 17–24; London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius C.xii, fols. 122r, 123v.

³⁷ R. Fleming, 'Christchurch's Sisters and Brothers: Canterbury Obituary Lists', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Commemoration of L. T. Bethel*, ed. M. A. Meyer, London 1993, 115–53.

³⁸ See the articles by Ann Williams and Emma Cownie in *St Augustine's of Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem, English Heritage, Canterbury 1997.

named elsewhere in the Tapestry, again in the company of his brothers William and Odo; a contrast with Harold and his two brothers is doubtless intended.³⁹ Robert was count of an area that immediately bordered upon Brittany. Several lords from north-east Brittany were already in his *mouvance* by 1066. Some followed him to England. The grant to Mont-St-Michel made by 'King' Edward in exile in 1033 is unlikely to have been effective, but one of its provisions, a grant of Marazion in Cornwall, was the basis for the later abbey priory of St Michael's Mount. Part of the abbey's success in establishing itself there, in 1131, was at least one grant by Robert count of Mortain, though the charters in their surviving form are problematic. The later cartulary of St Michael's Mount also alleged that a grant had been made by Count Brien of Brittany.⁴⁰ He was one of several sons of Count Eudo, uncle and one-time rival of Conan II, who joined William in or before 1066. Brien certainly fought at Hastings, as perhaps did his brother Alan Rufus. There is clear evidence from the Suffolk portion of Little Domesday that Count Brien was the *antecessor* of Robert of Mortain for his lands there.⁴¹ We know from ASC D that Brien was in the south-west in 1068 when he fought back an invasion by the sons of Harold. He also attested a charter of William in 1069, probably at Easter in Exeter, together with Archbishop Stigand and Count Robert, but is unheard of thereafter.⁴² Most likely he was wounded or became ill at that time and returned to Brittany, upon which his holdings were granted to Robert. As son of Count Eudo, he could well have been the anti-Conan informant of the Tapestry's version of the Breton campaign. The Dinan episode is perhaps based on an attack by his own family unrelated to the main Norman campaign. Alternatively, as Neveux has suggested, it may be that the campaign was influenced more by the Norman desire to make allies of the family of Count Eudo than support for Rivallon of Dol.⁴³ The likelihood that Brien was a benefactor of Mont-St-Michel is confirmed by the occurrence of his obit on 14 February in its martyrology-necrology, the one reserved for those with a special form of fraternity with the abbey; King Edward (5 January) occurs there also.⁴⁴

As to Scolland, whose case for involvement with the design and execution of the Tapestry has seemed so compelling on artistic grounds, we can only point to a Mont tradition that on hearing of William's success, Abbot Ranulf at once ordered six ships to be sent at the abbey's expense to escort the victorious duke to Normandy in 1067. Sent with them were several of his finest monks, who were to assist Odo during his regency in William's absence.⁴⁵ Four of them later received abbaties,

³⁹ D. Spear, 'Robert of Mortain and the Bayeux Tapestry', *New Approaches*, 75–80; D. Hill, 'The Bayeux Tapestry: the Establishment of a Text', in *Embroidering the Facts*, 383–99 at 397–9; B. Levy, 'Trifunctionality and Epic Patterning', *ibid.*, 327–46 at 322–3.

⁴⁰ *Cartulary Mont-Saint-Michel*, nos. 10–12 and App. Iii, pp. 213–14; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Le Rôle des Bretons dans la Politique de la Colonisation Normande', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 73, 1996, 181–215 at lxxiv, 186–7; eadem, 'Bretons and Normans', 160–1; B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS* 13, 1990, 119–44.

⁴¹ LDB, 291a–b: *DB Suffolk*, 2.

⁴² *Regesta*, Bates, 138; cf. 254.

⁴³ F. Neveux, 'L'Expédition de Guillaume le Bâtard en Bretagne (vers 1064)', in *Le Pouvoir et la Foi au Moyen Âge en Bretagne et dans l'Europe de l'Ouest*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and S. Soleil, Rennes 2010, 619–37. I explore this further in 'L'expédition de Guillaume, duc de Normandie, et du comte Harold en Bretagne (1064): le témoignage de la tapisserie de Bayeux et des chroniqueurs anglo-normands', forthcoming in *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* (2013).

⁴⁴ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Testimonies of the Living Dead: the Martyrology-Necrology and Necrology in the Chapter Book of Mont-Saint-Michel (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 214)', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. D. Rollason et al., Woodbridge 2004, 165–90.

⁴⁵ Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, 17; Avranches, Bibl. d'Avranches MS 213, fol. 178v.

including Scolland, who, indeed, between 1070 and his death in 1087, established himself as one of the most influential abbots in the country. The link between Mont-St-Michel, one of the oldest and most prestigious monasteries in north-west France, and England can be traced back to the tenth century. Scolland is not in himself a necessary link in the BT causal chain; but involvement with its design and his later appointment to St Augustine's might nonetheless have been effects.

In the third major episode, Harold returns to England to report the failure of his mission to Edward. His depiction in the Tapestry is certainly not of the confident and self-assured earl we saw in the first scene. As Williams points out, however, 'both king and earl are accompanied by axe-bearing attendants, and though it has been argued that the king is reprimanding the earl, the balance of the scene implies a more equal relationship'.⁴⁶ Harold is dejected, rather than abject. It was awareness of peril that had led to the mission developed by the ageing and childless Edward and Harold in 1064, the failure of which only deepened the gravity of the succession crisis threatening the country. The only remaining option among the fast-diminishing Cerdicings was Edgar Ætheling who was simply too young to undertake the task of preserving the country, now certainly known to be under threat from Normandy. Baxter's excellent rehearsal of the options in relation to English politics in the period misses the point when it concludes that Edward's attitude, characterized as a capricious playing off of one candidate against another, was an act of folly that brought disaster upon the country.⁴⁷ The situation was constantly changing, as one dynastic option after another was closed down. In the last analysis perhaps the greatest change was the king's personal progression from hostility to Godwine to his much closer reliance upon Harold, and possibly also Tostig. Edward, counselled by Archbishop Stigand, may well have already decided that Harold – *subregulus*, as John of Worcester called him, *dux Anglorum* according to BT – was the ideal successor. His earlier experience of the English horror of the prospect of civil war – evidenced by their refusal to support Edward with a show of force when Godwine and his sons returned from exile in 1052 – may have influenced his decision to leave his designation until the last minute.⁴⁸ Fate, as usual, was to force his hand.

ASC in its various versions has far more to say about Harold and Tostig as leaders in the years after 1055 than it does about Edward. Although the *Vita* sought to portray Edward as a vigorous man who spent his time in hunting, he was a man well advanced in years and cannot have expected to live many more. The work was commissioned and heavily influenced by his widow Edith, Harold's sister, and was her way of coming to terms with the personal tragedy of her barrenness, which led to the succession crisis, with the destruction of all her remaining brothers at Hastings, and the ruin of her country. It was also an apology for her father Earl Godwine, a man who achieved greatness under King Cnut and managed to maintain it until his own death in 1053, despite what were undeniably strained relations with his son-in-law. Edith was also conscious that she was partly responsible for the real calamity that led to the undoing of the country, the revolt of the Northumbrians against Tostig, following years of abuses culminating in the murder of Gospatric at court on 28 December 1064 on the orders, it was said, of the queen, a charge of which she tried to exonerate herself through the *Vita*. Tostig was with the king at Britford, Wilts, when the news came. Councils were held at Northampton

⁴⁶ Williams, 'How to be Rich', 67.

⁴⁷ S. Baxter, 'Edward the Confessor and the Succession', in *Edward the Confessor the Man and the Legend*, ed. R. Mortimer, Woodbridge 2000, 77–119.

⁴⁸ ASC C, s.a.1052.

and Oxford at which Harold tried to mediate. According to ASC C, 'Earl Harold was there, and wanted to work their reconciliation if he could, but he could not'. Deserted by all, Tostig was forced into exile. This was the last thing Harold and Edward needed. The unity of the Godwinsson brothers, their close working relationship, had made Harold the obvious candidate to succeed Edward since at least his defeat of Gryffydd in 1063.⁴⁹ Now Tostig went into an embittered exile to Flanders, where his father-in-law put him in command of the garrison of Saint-Omer and from whence he made contact with Harald Hardrada. Unsurprisingly and surely not unexpectedly, this dealt a death-blow to the aged king. He lived long enough to see his church of St Peter's Westminster consecrated, but died on 5 January 1066.

The death scene of Edward in BT is often compared to the description in the *Vita*, which says that three men were present at the king's deathbed, Harold, Stigand and Robert fitzWymarc, his staller and distant kinsman. Also present was his weeping wife Edith, warming his feet. Just before his death, Edward nominated Harold as his heir. The *Vita* also alleges that shortly before he died Edward had a disturbing vision of impending doom, dismissed as the ravings of a dying man by Archbishop Stigand. The *Vita*'s author has himself acknowledged that Edward's state of mind had deteriorated sharply since the exile of Tostig, so his attitude to Stigand here is striking and significant, given Stigand's long and loyal service to Godwine's family and the king, acknowledged elsewhere in the work. Although the author shows the king and queen as concerned about the state of the English church, with its two controversial archbishops, it is clear that Edward relied heavily on both and on Stigand in particular.⁵⁰ Stigand was well aware of his uncanonical position and was very prudent in the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. He was careful not to compromise the consecration of either Harold or William, who were both crowned by Ealdred.⁵¹ Rich beyond the dreams of avarice, he was above all a faithful royal servant who maintained a well-deserved place at the centre of government over an extraordinarily long time. He had achieved the impossible in being a loyal servant both to Godwine and his sons and also to Edward, who had loathed Godwine. Stigand had, however, failed to prevent Godwine and his sons' brief exile in 1051–2, and the humiliating dismissal of Edward's wife, Godwine's daughter Edith – which may be what provokes the hostility to Stigand of the *Vita*'s author, devoted to Edith as he was, at this point. The *Vita*'s wording has also led to speculation that this deathbed nomination was merely a caretaking operation pending the arrival of William. BT is clear-cut. Harold was designated by the dying king, and acclaimed king by the witan immediately after Edward's death. Fundamentally important is the evidence of the ASC. None of the three versions was in any doubt that the accession of Harold was lawful and had indeed been Edward's wish. As Ann Williams points out, C, the version frequently hostile to the Godwinssons, 'includes a eulogy of Harold in its commemorative verse on Edward as "a noble earl who all the time had loyally followed his lord's commands with words and deeds, neglecting nothing that met the needs of the people's king"'. Harold was a popular choice for the kingship.⁵²

Barbara English has suggested that Harold's coronation, our fourth episode, need

⁴⁹ ASC D and E, *s.a.* 1063.

⁵⁰ *Vita*, 52–4, 66–73, 82–3, 116–25.

⁵¹ John of Worcester, II, 598–601; on the day of Edward's funeral Harold *subregulus* was consecrated by Archbishop Ealdred, who also crowned William owing to Stigand's lack of a pallium (ASC D and E, *s.a.* 1066).

⁵² A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in pre-Conquest England c. 500–c1066*, Basingstoke 1999, 148.

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Figure 2: Harold in majesty: detail of the Bayeux Tapestry – eleventh century, with special permission from the City of Bayeux.

not have been on 6 January, though ASC agrees that Harold's election was ratified by then. In any event, she demonstrates that the so-called 'coronation scene' in the Tapestry shows Harold in majesty, already a fully consecrated king.⁵³ It may represent an Easter (8 April) crown-wearing after his return from a campaign in the north, the date suggested by the close proximity of the appearance of Haley's comet (24 April) to this scene.⁵⁴ The importance of this scene cannot be overstated. As English points out, this is an image based on Ottonian imperial iconography. Both Harold and his chief advisor Archbishop Stigand stare fully and frankly into the eyes of the spectator. Stigand's controversial appointment as archbishop, which meant that in 1066 he lacked a valid pallium and tended to attest as 'bishop', was no bar to the immensely important role he played at the courts of a succession of kings, from Cnut up to and including William the Conqueror.⁵⁵ This is not a Norman-derived slur on the validity of Harold's coronation by an uncanonical archbishop. The deliberate coupling of the king in his pomp with his archbishop and leading man is a striking central focus of the whole work – whatever may or may not have been lost at either end – and it derives from an English perspective. Truly, a picture is worth a thousand words.

The impending disaster is foretold by the comet. The narrative from this point is broadly that of all the sources. Harold fought and lost, his two brothers by his side, his downfall brought about by the judgement of God upon the sinful English nation, as outlined in ASC D. There is no explicit evidence that BT took the standard line.⁵⁶ Both BT and *Vita* acknowledge that Harold swore an oath, but do not link it

⁵³ B. English, 'The Coronation of Harold in the Bayeux Tapestry', in *Embroidering the Facts*, 347–82.

⁵⁴ Higham, *Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, 182.

⁵⁵ Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand', 199–204.

⁵⁶ Bouet, 'Is the Tapestry pro-English', 205–6.

directly to the succession.⁵⁷ *Carmen*, Poitiers and Jumièges all allege that Harold swore to uphold Edward's previous nomination of William, even though they have to deal with two problems, that Harold could not give what was not his to give, and that Edward's dying nomination had been not of William but Harold. Jumièges, the earliest text of 'the Norman version', says that the English were punished for the death of Edward's brother Alfred in 1036, a murder in which Earl Godwine had been implicated. This issue had been discussed in Normandy for many years and first occurs in a text written *c.* 1053.⁵⁸ Poitiers, post-vilification, alleges punishment for Harold's perjury. This explanation of William's victory was devised fairly soon after the events of late 1066, though it only entered post-Conquest English writing in the next generation. Another early version of it is found in the *Carmen*, whose author, whilst vilifying Harold, is also strangely sympathetic towards him. The author is not a Norman, but the uncle of Count Eustace of Boulogne, former brother-in-law of Edward and enemy of Earl Godwine. His overblown poetic effusion was most likely written to win back favour for Eustace who returned to the Continent before 8 April 1067 and soon afterwards quarrelled with William, leading to a temporary loss of his new English estates, though he was restored to favour by 1077. It was written between Eustace's eclipse and that of Stigand in April 1070. Poitiers knew the text and did not care for it: he replaces *Carmen*'s portrayal of the heroics of Count Eustace and Hugh of Ponthieu in the battle with his own account of Eustace as a coward.⁵⁹

Poitiers is a particularly interesting witness. The Conqueror's official panegyrist and apologist, his writing, and its treatment of the barebones outline of Jumièges, reflects the seismic shift in the Norman attitude to Harold after 1070. As Ralph Davis suggested some years ago, Poitiers was very likely associated with Odo of Bayeux in some way, and was connected to him in Canterbury. He speaks of him in glowing terms and says that Norman and Breton alike were happy to submit to him.⁶⁰ The Breton reference is odd without the context of BT and its informants, since it was Odo's brother Robert of Mortain who was linked to the Bretons. His text gives every sign of being familiar with the completed BT, even though it follows the post-Stigand Lanfranc line in telling the conquest story.⁶¹ The two-stage 'Norman version' of how William became king is striking. Pre-1070, Jumièges describes the Normans as setting out for London, crossing the Thames at Wallingford and pitching camp there. Continuing their march on London, the Londoners realized the game was up and submitted to William, who was elected by English and Normans alike and crowned. The fuller account, post-1070, in Poitiers shows the men of Canterbury immediately surrendering to William, though Stigand remained with

⁵⁷ The *Vita*'s reference, 80–1, to oaths may in fact relate solely to the outlawry of Tostig.

⁵⁸ E. M. C. van Houts, 'Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: the *Inventio et Miracula Sancti Vulfranni*', *ANS* 12, 1989, 233–51. See also Poitiers, 2–7. Mont-St-Michel evidence confirms the Norman concern for Edward and his brother (*Cartulary Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 10; S. Keynes, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS* 13, 1991, 173–206).

⁵⁹ *Carmen*, 30–4; *Poitiers*, 138–9, though more sympathetic at 184–5, which supports the idea that *Carmen* was written to assist Eustace's rehabilitation (van Houts, 'Latin Poetry'). An early writ of William was addressed to Stigand and Count Eustace (*Regesta*, Bates, 291).

⁶⁰ Poitiers, 164–7; R. H. C. Davis, 'William of Poitiers and his History of William the Conqueror', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford, 1981, 71–100.

⁶¹ Davis, 93: 'If WP was a protégé of Odo of Bayeux, we would have to assume that the story he told was not so much the "Norman" story as the "Bayeux" story at a slightly different stage of its development'.

other English nobles upholding the cause of Edgar Ætheling.⁶² After an attack on London the Normans marched to Wallingford, where Stigand met them and did homage, confirming fealty with an oath. 'After this the bishops and other leading men begged him to take the crown', an addition which hints at ASC D's statement that Archbishop Ealdred and Edgar himself submitted to William at Berkhamstead. D also names Earls Edwin and Morcar, Harold's brothers-in-law, as submitting at Berkhamsted. Poitiers places their submission at Barking, after William's coronation.⁶³ As Douglas and Impey have suggested, it is most likely that this was a confusion on Poitiers's part, and that all the leading English nobles surrendered at Berkhamsted, as ASC says.⁶⁴ It is quite likely that the wily Stigand had himself initiated negotiations at the important military town of Wallingford, which did not suffer as a result of the Normans' passage, whilst keeping Edgar and the others safely in the rear at Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

The Bayeux Tapestry is Stigand's version of events, simultaneously his homage to Harold and his flattery of Odo and by extension William. In it we see the beginnings of the *Historia Anglorum*, the attempt of English historians to come to terms with defeat and weave it into the story of the English people. The ending of the Tapestry is now missing, but there is a high likelihood that Poitiers saw it and preserves it in his text. King William doubtless also saw it and he may not have liked what he saw. Indeed, his commission to Poitiers to write his *Gesta* might even have been a response to the Tapestry, and Poitiers's use of it part of the reason why the king failed to be pleased by Poitiers's efforts.⁶⁵ Stigand perhaps overreached himself with this production, the first and fatal miscalculation of his lifelong career at the heart of politics. According to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* he was shocked by his degradation in April 1070 and died in chains in Winchester in 1072, still complaining of his treatment. Ealdred spared himself humiliation by dying in 1069, but Poitiers lets slip that William had determined upon Stigand's removal in advance and that Lanfranc was to replace him.⁶⁶ Neveux suggests that BT upholds the traditional power of bishops temporal as well as spiritual, against the decisions of the reforming monks.⁶⁷ The successful partnership of William and Lanfranc, however, meant the days of worldly bishops of the likes of Stigand and Odo were numbered. Tension between Lanfranc and Odo surfaced early, which may have led to the removal of the Tapestry to Bayeux before Odo's arrest in 1082. BT was certainly inflammatory. Stigand drew attention to himself and his importance as loyal – the man had real qualities, it must be admitted – right-hand man to kings in the central 'crown-wearing' scene. The Tapestry's lost ending surely depicted

⁶² This tradition survived in the fifteenth-century *William Thorne's Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey*, trans. A. H. Davis, Oxford 1935, 47–8, which showed Stigand acting in concert with Abbot Æthelsige (whose appointment he had recommended to Edward in 1061 according to ASC E).

⁶³ Poitiers, pp. 160–3.

⁶⁴ D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, London 1964, p. 207. E. Impey, 'London's Early Castles and the Context of Their Creation', in *The White Tower*, ed. E. Impey, London and New Haven 2008, pp. 16–19; Impey points out that there was an easy route via the Icknield Way and Akeman Street to Great Berkhamsted.

⁶⁵ Davis, 'William of Poitiers', 92, suggested that the connection with Odo might explain why Poitiers's fulsome panegyric apparently failed to find favour with William. The bulk of Poitiers's text as it survives is from a single lost manuscript copied in 1619 (*ibid.*, 71).

⁶⁶ Poitiers, 86, 160.

⁶⁷ Neveux, 'Conclusion', 406.

Stigand as leading the submission of the English at the important royal borough of Wallingford before its very last scene showing William's coronation?⁶⁸

The argument of this paper may well come as a severe shock to the sensibilities of Tapestry scholars, an over-ambitious attempt at A Theory of Everything in relation to immediate post-conquest sources. In fact, it builds on much that has already been published, and sees a more comprehensible story emerge once the key step of seeing the Bayeux Tapestry as an essentially English product, created by Stigand for, and to some extent in collaboration with, Odo of Bayeux, is taken. If it leads to a reconsideration of the evidence for the 'Norman' and the 'English' version of events in a less polarizing way, and to a more sympathetic view of both 'failed historian' William of Poitiers and Archbishop Stigand, then it will have done its job.

⁶⁸ D. Renn, 'How Big is It – and Was It?', in *New Approaches*, 52–8 at 56, suggests another telescoped 'double-decker' showing the submission before the final coronation scene. On Wallingford, where Stigand's church of Winchester held three of the parish churches as part of its estate at neighbouring Brightwell and Sotwell, see the editors' papers in *The Origins of the Borough of Wallingford*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan and D. R. Roffe, Oxford 2009.

ROBERT OF TORIGNI AND THE *HISTORIA ANGLORUM*

David Bates

Robert of Torigni, author of additions to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and of a chronicle that he pronounced to be a continuation of the universal chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, as well as of other less ambitious works, has never attracted the attention bestowed on the likes of Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. This neglect is undoubtedly explicable by his having neither the originality of Orderic nor the depth and polish of Malmesbury and Huntingdon; the briefest of acquaintances with his writings rapidly reveals both his pedestrian prose style and limited range of interests.¹ A notable verdict, although also a debatable one, is the late Margaret Gibson's that he was 'an intelligent man without a trace of romance in his soul'.² These well known limitations notwithstanding, there are in fact overwhelmingly strong reasons to include his contribution to the *Historia Anglorum* as an aspect of the process of how, in the words of Ann Williams, twelfth-century historians 'helped to weld English and Normans into a new English nation'.³ He was after all the only historian of Norman birth who lived almost his entire life in the duchy to set out explicitly to write the history of the English.

Robert was born at Torigni-sur-Vire in western Normandy at an unknown date, became a monk at Le Bec from 1128, was appointed prior there from c. 1149, and became abbot of Le Mont Saint-Michel, where he demonstrated exceptional administrative abilities, from 27 May 1154 until his death on 24 June 1186.⁴ That he mixed regularly with the likes of the Empress Matilda and her son King Henry II makes him immediately interesting; he was politically important in a way that

¹ For comment on Robert's literary and intellectual qualities, see R. Foreville, 'Robert de Torigni et "Clio"', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel, tome ii: Vie montoise et rayonnement intellectuel du Mont Saint-Michel*, ed. R. Foreville, Paris 1957, 141–53 at 144–53; and E. van Houts in Jumièges, II, xc–xci ('Robert was a practical as well as a methodical man' and 'by far the least skilled Latinist among the authors of the *GND*'). An earlier version of this chapter was given at 'The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past' conference held at Robinson College, Cambridge, on 29–30 March 2011. I am grateful to members of the conference for their comments, to Elisabeth van Houts for her comments on a draft of this article, to Jean-Luc Leservoisier for his help during a visit to Avranches, and to Sarah Foot, Richard Gameson, John Gillingham and Nigel Ramsay for specific advice.

² M. Gibson, 'History at Bec in the Twelfth Century', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford 1981, 167–86 at 176.

³ A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995, 186.

⁴ The basis of all modern study of Robert's life and writings are Léopold Delisle's edition of his *Chronicle, Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel, suivie de divers opuscules historiques de cet auteur et de plusieurs religieux de la même abbaye*, ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols., Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Rouen 1872–3, and Elisabeth van Houts' edition of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (Jumièges). Throughout this article I refer to the *Chronicle* in both Delisle's and Howlett's editions (*The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, Abbot of the Monastery of St Michael-in-Peril-of the Sea*, ed. R. Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, IV, RS 82, London 1889) prefaced by the abbreviation RT followed by (D) and (H).

Orderic and Malmesbury were not.⁵ He made, as far as we know, only the two visits to England which took place in 1157 and 1175, both of them well after he set out to write English history.⁶ It is also important that he was clearly writing with a didactic purpose. The list of contents inserted in a twelfth-century hand at the beginning of the celebrated Avranches manuscript of his chronicle indicates that, towards the end of his life, he thought his work of such significance that he presented a copy of it to Henry II.⁷ To this can be added the conventional statements in the Chronicle's Prologue about the importance of recording the events of the past to provide examples to be imitated or avoided.⁸ For all his social prominence, however, the subject of his interaction with the wider world of politics and power has scarcely been touched on by modern historians; the only exceptions are valuable contributions by Elisabeth van Houts and Leah Shopkow.⁹

The visit that Robert received at Le Bec in 1139 from another of the great twelfth-century Anglo-Norman historians, Henry of Huntingdon, who was en route to Rome with Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, until the previous year Robert's abbot at Le Bec, is almost invariably mentioned nowadays because Robert showed Henry a manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Britonum*.¹⁰ With the exception of Geoffrey Gaimar's use of the *De Gestis*, which could date from 1136, the presence of this manuscript at Le Bec is the earliest evidence we have of the full text of Geoffrey's infamous work in circulation.¹¹ However, in relation to Robert's engagement with the *Historia Anglorum*, the meeting must have been more a crucial moment in the development of an existing project to collect materials relating to the history of the Normans in England and the British Isles, something to which he alluded in his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, which were substantially complete by 1139, by mentioning the possibility that he might add a copy of the life of the Empress's grandmother St Margaret of Scotland to the *Gesta*.¹² While Robert's description of

⁵ M. Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin', *ANS* 10, 1988, 35–48 at 45–6; E. van Houts, 'Le roi et son historien: Henri II Plantagenêt et Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 37, 1994, 115–18. For basic biographical information, D. Spear, 'Torigni, Robert de [called Robert de Monte]', in *ODNB*, vol. 55, 46–7; V. Gazeau, *Normannia Monastica: Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (X^e–XII^e siècle)*, Caen 2007, 220–5.

⁶ For Robert's visits to England, RT (D), I, v–vi, x.

⁷ Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 159, fo. 3v; RT, I, xlvii(D), lix–lx(H).

⁸ *Noverint, bonam vitam et mores precedentium ad imitationem subsequendum proponi; malorum vero exempla, non ut imitemur, sed ut vitentur, describi*, RT, I, 92(D), 61–2(H); see further, A. Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams, Woodbridge 1990, 55–81 at 64–6, 68–9.

⁹ E. van Houts, 'Latin and French as Languages of the Past in Normandy during the Reign of Henry II: Robert of Torigni, Stephen of Rouen, and Wace', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones, Basingstoke and New York 2006, 53–78 at especially 54–7; L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Washington DC 1997, 107–12, 165–70.

¹⁰ Modern references to the meeting are almost infinite in number, so no attempt has been made to list them. The sources are Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola ad Warinum*, and the interpolations therein at Le Bec by Robert, Huntingdon, 558–9; N. Wright, 'The Place of Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola ad Warinum* in the Text History of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*: a Preliminary Investigation', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge, in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, ed. G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville, Woodbridge 1991, 71–113 at 93, 106; RT, I, 97–8(D), 65–6(H). For the title *De Gestis Britonum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. Reeve and trans. N. Wright, Woodbridge 2007, vii–viii, lix.

¹¹ For Geoffrey Gaimar's use of *De Gestis Britonum*, *Geffrei Gaimar, Estoire des Engleis (History of the English)*, ed. and trans. I. Short, Oxford 2009, xxxii.

¹² Jumièges, II, 240–3; see *ibid.*, I, lxxix–lxxx for the date of the completion of the *Gesta*. We cannot

himself as 'a man devoted to the investigation and collection of books upon subjects divine as well as secular' in an interpolation in Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola ad Warinum*, although in all probability made in the 1150s into the text that describes the two men's meeting, suggests that he thought of himself as having been in 1139 a collector of materials rather than a compiler of a universal chronicle, there is no reason to dismiss the notion that he already had some sort of larger project in mind.¹³ It is also likely that the meeting must have greatly expanded Robert's horizons. The experienced Henry, a man some twenty years older than Robert, at that point saw himself as having been a mentor to King Henry I; it is possible that Robert, already established as a friend of Henry's daughter the Empress Matilda, was soon thinking of himself in similar terms.¹⁴

The purpose of Robert's Chronicle is clearly set out as having been to describe 'such incidents as have occurred in different provinces, but chiefly in Normandy and England, up until the year 1150 as they have come to my notice (*ea quae in diversis provinciis, et maxime in Normannia et Anglia, evenerunt, et ad meam notitiam pervenerunt*)'.¹⁵ This statement appears in the prologue to what Delisle called 'the first edition' of Robert's chronicle, that is the text started at Le Bec and largely completed either there or in Robert's first years at Le Mont Saint-Michel. It appears unchanged in the Avranches manuscript, with the original date of 1150 simply changed to 1182 by the addition of a further thirty-two years in a marginal continuation of the numeral by the main scribe of the manuscript, the one responsible for writing all of the text up until 1156 who appears also to have written the gathering that started with the year 1168.¹⁶ It is therefore drawing attention to what had become the mission of a life-time. Robert's engagement with the *Historia Anglorum* had also from the beginning a most distinguished lineage, since it was not just a continuation of Sigebert's universal chronicle, but also of the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea, St Jerome, and Prosper of Aquitaine.¹⁷

Robert is usually thought to have started writing his Chronicle between 1147 and 1150, a dating based on the 1150 date in the Prologue and reinforced by the fact that he made extensive use of the fourth version of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, of which a copy is normally thought to have been transferred to Le Bec soon after 1146.¹⁸ A further point in favour of this dating is the fact that the version of Henry's *Epistola ad Warinum* inserted into the Chronicle is closest to the slightly different version of the Letter that appears in Lambeth Palace MS 327; it must therefore be later than the first version of the *Epistola* that Henry wrote on

of course be certain of the exact contents of the manuscript that the two historians looked at. As is well known, the much discussed Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. BPL 20 is a copy of the *De Gestis* made at Le Bec before 1164 and not the manuscript that came from England.

¹³ For Robert's interpolation, see the editions of the *Epistola ad Warinum*, above, note 10.

¹⁴ On Henry's didactic role, J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon: in his Time (1135) and Place (between Lincoln and the Royal Court)', in *Gallus Anonymous and His Chronicle in the Context of Twelfth-Century Historiography from the Perspective of the Latest Research*, ed. K. Stopka, Kraków 2010, 157–72 at 163–71.

¹⁵ RT, I, 96(D), 64(H).

¹⁶ Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 159, fo. 170r. The scribe's return in 1168 was noted by D. L. C. Bethmann, 'Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Hanover 1844, SS, VI, 294. His suggestion seems to me acceptable, even if his opinion that the Avranches manuscript was written by Robert writing in several hands has been abandoned ever since Delisle's edition.

¹⁷ RT, I, 94–6(D), 62–4(H).

¹⁸ Huntingdon, lxxv.

the basis of what must have been remarkably extensive notes made at Le Bec in 1139 when he first consulted the *De Gestis Britonum*.¹⁹ The date at which Robert acquired the Sigebert manuscript from Beauvais is unclear, although there appears to be a consensus in favour of the late 1140s.²⁰

The case for an earlier start-date for the Chronicle has been set out by David Dumville, the key point in the argument being that Robert's Prologue announced that he had used a version of the *Historia Anglorum* that ended at the death of Henry I, which suggests that he was using what Diana Greenway identified as the third version of Henry's *Historia*, and perhaps an incomplete version of it.²¹ This argument for an earlier dating cannot be verified textually, the fourth version of Henry's *Historia* being a continuation of the third, rather than a text that made changes to it. In addition, the fact that Robert adopted a much more positive tone in his treatment of the young future King Henry II from his annal for 1147 onwards, combined with the initial decision to end the chronicle in 1150, the year of Henry's investiture as duke of Normandy, suggests that the Chronicle was written not only as an aspect of Robert's well-known partisanship for the Angevin cause in the civil war against King Stephen, but also as a literary contribution to it that gathered momentum as Henry's cause developed.²² On the basis of all this, it is Robert's strong pre-1147 interest in the *Historia Anglorum*, already evident by 1139, that inspires the argument for the Chronicle having at the least been conceived, and probably started, some time before 1147. The acquisition of the fourth version of Henry's *Historia Anglorum* can after all be reasonably identified as a decisive moment in the consolidation of a project, rather than its beginning. It is also important that Robert would have speedily recognized that Sigebert's universal chronicle was inadequate for his central purpose, with Sigebert announcing that he could no longer write any English history after 735 on the grounds that Bede had come to an end, and finding it possible to resume only in 1066 when he had Marianus Scotus to draw on; whenever he started, Robert would have had to look to his English networks at a very early stage in his work.²³

When we turn to the contents of Robert's Chronicle, it becomes instantly clear that we are going to learn absolutely nothing new about England's Anglo-Saxon past from it. As is well known, the Chronicle contains extensive *verbatim* copying from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. In addition, because Robert's annalistic framework required him to put the often undated events of Henry's *Historia* into years, his deductions, though usually logical, produced a host of inaccurate datings. A textual analysis also demonstrates a well-nigh total absence of knowledge of English history beyond what he was acquiring from Henry's text; it is most unlikely, for example, that he can have been acquainted with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* at the time of writing. The importance of Robert's contribution to the *Historia*

¹⁹ For this point, Wright, 'Place of Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola ad Warinum*', 92–3.

²⁰ RT, I, i(D); M. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'Histoire Universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XIIe–XIVe siècle)*, Paris 1999, 327, suggests 'vers 1150'.

²¹ D. N. Dumville, 'An Early Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* and the Circulation of Some Latin Histories in Twelfth-Century Normandy', *Arthurian Literature* 4, 1985, 1–36 at 31–2 (reprinted in *Histories and Pseudo-Histories of the Insular Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1990, chapter 14); RT, I, 97(D), 65(H). See also, Huntingdon, lxxv.

²² See further, below, 181.

²³ *Abhinc regnum Anglorum annotare supersedeo, quia hystorias maiorum quas sequar, non habeo*, 'Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia', 331; Chazan, *L'Empire*, 130 n.103.

Anglorum therefore ultimately lies in what we learn of mid-twelfth-century knowledge and attitudes in Normandy, rather than for the factual information it provides.

Robert's treatment of English history in the eighth and ninth centuries was confined to inserting material into what he deduced to be the appropriate year from the lists of kings of Kent and Wessex at the ends of Book Four and Five of Henry's *Historia*.²⁴ He lists information on the kings of Kent from Æthelberht II (d. 762) to Baldred (c. 823–827). The one significant textual change he made is to describe most of them as a *rex Anglorum*, as Henry had not, and identify their direct successors as *reges Anglorum* as the kings of Wessex, by, off his own bat, using material from elsewhere in Henry's *Historia* to identify Baldred's supplanter as King Æthelwulf of Wessex (d.858).²⁵ This change suggests that he was mistakenly thinking of England as having always been a unitary kingdom, something that fits with the notion of the kingdom of the English succeeding the kingdom of the Britons which he had expressed in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, and which also occurs in his Chronicle's Prologue.²⁶

Robert's treatment becomes more expansive from the annal for 955, where there is a *verbatim* copy of Henry's account of Æthelwold of Winchester and the monastic foundations of the Tenth-Century Reform. As he moves towards the Norman Conquest, a passage is included from Henry to provide information about the reign of each king. He also transfers Henry's famous passage in the Preface to Book Five ('Therefore Almighty God sent down upon them the most cruel of peoples ... They also, acting as God's avengers and goads, sometimes cruelly invaded Gaul, deservedly because of its connection with Britain') to the end of the account of the St Brice's Day massacre and Sven Forkbeard's revenge.²⁷ Most striking of all, however, is undoubtedly the scale of Robert's dependence on Henry. Although he frequently uses Norman annals to fill out his account to create what was in effect an Anglo-Norman chronicle, he rarely uses his own *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, even in places where we might reasonably expect him to do so. Thus, for example, he uses Henry for the Battle of Val-ès-Dunes. He also reproduces his account of the killing of the Confessor's brother Alfred, thereby transferring the event to Harthacnut's reign, rather than placing it in Harold Harefoot's, as he had correctly done in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*.²⁸ The conclusion can only be that Robert believed that, for the *genre* of the universal chronicle, the *Historia Anglorum* had greater authority than his own work. Critical judgement was therefore appropriately suspended.

Robert identified the start of Henry I's reign as marking the beginning of his own chronicle, as opposed to an interpolated continuation of Sigebert's. At this point therefore, he consolidated material from several parts of Henry's *Historia* into a special section designed, it would appear, to provide his readers with what he believed to be the basic facts necessary to understand the history of the English. At the start of the section, he inserted a slightly revised version of Henry's *Epistola ad Warinum* and the descriptive passages that Henry had included at the start of Book

²⁴ Huntingdon, 264–7, 332–5. The material is inserted into the annals for 749, 761, 794, 798, 806, 834, 859, 863, 871, 899, RT, I, 7–10, 14(D), 7–11(H). Delisle's edition omits the 749 annal.

²⁵ RT, I, 8(D), 8(H) (*Fugato Baldred, cessauit stirps Cantuarie, et de alienis regnauit Athelwulfus xix annis*); Huntingdon, 262–3, 332–3.

²⁶ Jumièges, II, 240–1 (*monarchiam Majoris Britannie, quam nunc Angliam uocant*); RT, I, 94(D), 63(H). For Robert and Bede, see further, below, pp. 180–1.

²⁷ RT, I, 29(D), 21–2(H); Huntingdon, 274–5.

²⁸ RT, I, 40–2, 44(D), 29, 31(H).

One of his *Historia*. He then made his way through the sections that Henry devoted to a description of the island, its principal cities, the five invasions, the Saxon kingdoms, and through to the passage on the five languages of Britain.²⁹ The only significant omission from Henry's text is of the more reflective Chapter Six of the *Historia* ('The cities mentioned above are all sited in delightful positions ... the day or night consists of fifteen hours at the longest and nine hours at the shortest').³⁰ He then proceeded to Henry's list of 'modern saints' (*De sanctis modernis commemoratio*) that concluded his Book IX, but omits the last section, Henry's special treatment of Wulfric of Haselbury.³¹ Overall he often omitted Henry's short celebratory passages and in particular left out the references to the beauty of the Fens. Yet he retained the story of St Werburgh bringing a dead wild goose back to life, a sign surely of his personal interest in miracles, something that appears elsewhere and which fits in with his didactic purpose and the model derived from Sigeber.³²

Robert's treatment of the years after 1066 is fuller than before, but the dependence on Henry remains. Chronology continues to be confused; most extraordinarily, he placed the Battle of Hastings, for which he used Henry's account, in the annal for 1065, while, with a set of Norman annals to guide him, he correctly placed the death of Conan, count of Brittany, in 1066, this being his sole entry for that year.³³ His annal for the year 1067 consists of no more than a single sentence copied from Henry about William's Channel crossing, followed by mention of his attendance at the dedication of the new abbey church of Jumièges and the succession to the archbishopric of Rouen, both taken from Norman annals. He omitted annals for 1068 and 1069, thereby leaving his readers uninformed about all of the Conqueror's decisive English campaigns. He also subsequently left out the 1075 revolt.³⁴ So to omit most of the warfare certainly creates a misleading impression, but it might be best seen as part of his didactic purpose; his focus was after all on two lands normally under the authority of a single ruler, and not on the exploitation of one for the benefit of the other. The history of Robert's first abbey of Le Bec features at several points in the account of this period. There is also an at first sight surprising interest in the history of Wales and Scotland, with the latter perhaps inspired by Henry's statement that not only the Normans, but also the Scots, a people whom he said the English considered to be the lowest of the low, would laud it over them.³⁵ The substance of the homiletic obituary of the Conqueror, deriving ultimately via Henry from the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, is, however, inserted without deleting mention of the king's faults; the moral purpose is therefore explicit at this point.³⁶

Robert's dependence on Henry continues throughout Henry I's reign; he uses the *Historia Anglorum*, for example, for his accounts of events in Normandy such as the Battles of Tinchebrai and Brémule. There are again significant insertions of Le Bec history and, remarkably, in terms of his treatment of the *Historia Anglorum*, a great expansion of Henry's brief account of the dedication of the abbey of St Alban's in 1116, which transfers materials from other sections of Henry's *Historia* and, apparently for the only time in the Chronicle, makes use of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

²⁹ RT, I, 112–17(D); 75–9(H); Huntingdon, 12–25.

³⁰ Huntingdon, 18–21.

³¹ Ibid., 686–95.

³² RT, I, 118–19(D), 80(H); Huntingdon, 692–5.

³³ RT, I, 52–5(D), 36–8(H).

³⁴ RT, I, 55–61(D), 38–43(H).

³⁵ Huntingdon, 340–1.

³⁶ RT, I, 66–8(D), 45–6(H).

Its absence elsewhere does, however, make it probable that Robert drew on someone else's expertise to create this passage, even though he certainly could have accessed the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Normandy, it being possible that the Le Bec library possessed a copy of Bede's great work at the time of writing.³⁷ In general, Robert did not usually find appealing the moralizing along *de contemptu mundi* lines that is a feature of this part of Henry's *Historia*, perhaps because he judged it inappropriate for a chronicle. He could not resist, however, including some passages, albeit in restrained form, although, rather surprisingly, he omitted the *proh dolor!* with which Henry commented on Stephen's seizure of the English kingdom.³⁸

After 1147, the Chronicle becomes a detailed and manifestly partisan account of the future Henry II's doings. In the annal for 1151, for example, we are told that after Louis VII had accepted homage from Henry 'the father and son joyfully took their departure from the city of Paris (*cum igitur a civitate Parisius uterque, scilicet pater et filius, laeti discessissent*)'.³⁹ In the preceding annals, however, passages from Henry's *Historia* continue to be reproduced as before, including sympathetic references to King Stephen, such as the passage copied into the annal for 1145 to the effect that 'the king's fortunes now at last began to change for the better (*tunc demum regi fortuna coepit in melius permutari*)', followed in 1147 by praise for Stephen's courage.⁴⁰ There are also significant independent sections relating to Normandy alone in these annals that suggest that Robert continued in the 1140s to write Norman history after abandoning the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, and that this material was subsequently integrated into the Chronicle project.

Mediocre as Robert's contribution to the *Historia Anglorum* may at first sight appear to be, there are paradoxically some very important conclusions that follow from what he did. In the first place, it is significant that Robert was not the only historian in Normandy in the 1140s and 1150s with an interest in the history of England and Britain. Above all, there was Wace, whose *Roman de Brut* was an adaptation into Old French verse 14,866 lines in length of Geoffrey's *De Gestis Britonum*, completed in 1155, and probably started around 1150.⁴¹ This and other activity raises questions about the nature of cross-Channel links during the civil war that are most assuredly not the subject of this chapter. Suffice to say here that my views tend towards what might reasonably be described as a maximum view: opinion in Normandy continued to believe in its place at the heart of an empire and a diaspora. It is notable too that Robert's emphasis on the territorial distinctiveness of Normandy and England exactly parallels the address-clauses of Henry's pre-1154 charters, which included the two lands (*fidelibus suis Normannie et Anglie salutem*) even when the document concerned dealt with only either English or Norman matters.⁴² A close parallel to Robert at the other end of the empire is provided

³⁷ Huntingdon, 460–1; RT, I, 146–50(D), 96–8(H). The case for Le Bec having a copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* rests on an entry in the Le Bec library catalogue inserted into Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 159. See further, Dumville, 'An Early Text', 6–7.

³⁸ Huntingdon, 700–01; RT, I, 199(D), 127–8(H). Note, for example, Robert's inclusion of the death of Archbishop William of Canterbury and the fall of Bishop Roger of Salisbury.

³⁹ RT, I, 255(D), 162(H).

⁴⁰ RT, I, 237, 243(D), 150, 153(H).

⁴¹ See Wace's *Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, trans. Judith Weiss, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies, Exeter 1999, xii.

⁴² Note, for example, *Regesta*, III, no 321, an entirely English document for Flaxley Abbey. On this point, E. King, 'The Accession of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent, Woodbridge 2007, 24–46 at 29. On the territorial distinctiveness of Normandy and England after 1066, D. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR* 104, 1989, 851–80 at 862–5.

by the writings of another political abbot, Ailred of Rievaulx, and in particular by his *De Genealogia*.⁴³ And among others who were preparing for the new regime was Robert's collaborator Henry of Huntingdon, who systematically deleted some critical references to Henry I in the sixth version of his *Historia*.⁴⁴

Within the analysis of the great Anglo-Norman explosion of historical writing so brilliantly described by Sir Richard Southern in his famous fourth Presidential Address to the Royal Historical Society, Robert was so minor a figure that he did not even merit a mention.⁴⁵ His addition to the *corpus* is, however, a necessity, because his work reveals a parallel interest in the English past in Normandy among the descendants of the victors of 1066 who had remained primarily resident in the duchy. It may show serious deficiencies of knowledge on Robert's part and identify the Channel as a serious barrier to communication, but that in itself is important. On a more positive note, Robert's choice of the format of universal history is also significant. Like John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, he was combining continental and English materials, but, unlike them, he was adding the English to the continental.⁴⁶ His use of the *genre* of universal history further emphasizes its overall importance within the Anglo-Norman twelfth-century renaissance in historical writing, a point already rightly stressed by Martin Brett and Rodney Thomson. In the well-nigh unique circumstances of Worcester, for example, John of Worcester drew on Marianus Scotus to provide England's history with its previously absent wider context, while William of Malmesbury, unquestionably by temperament a universal historian, laboured to construct the Carolingian past on the basis of scarce resources.⁴⁷ The idiosyncratic Orderic was of course also a historian who painted on the broadest canvas. Manifestly all of these writers were setting out to place the great events that had profoundly affected all their lives in the widest possible context.

For Robert, the context of writing was unquestionably one of *renovatio imperii*. Within this setting, he should certainly be thought of as a devotee of what can be called *Normanitas*, since he at times articulates a perspective that reflects opinions likely to have been held in the mid-twelfth-century duchy. In the *Gesta Normanorum Ducum*, for example, he refers to England's inexhaustible wealth (*de inexhaustis Anglorum thesauris*), adding the single word *inexhaustis*, as an interlinear insertion, something that feels like a telling aside equivalent to a popular perception.⁴⁸ It is notable too that his devotion to Henry's *Historia Anglorum* did not extend to reproducing the passage on the Normans being chosen because of their exceptional savagery to punish the sinful English.⁴⁹ Looking in another direction, he obtained a now lost manuscript of William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Guiscardi* for

⁴³ For the arguments in this paragraph, see my forthcoming book, *The Normans and Empire*.

⁴⁴ For Henry's re-writing, Huntingdon, 698–701; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon', 168–9.

⁴⁵ R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 23, 1973, 243–63 at 246–56 (reprinted in *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R. W. Southern*, ed. R. Bartlett, Oxford 2004, 66–83 at 69–77).

⁴⁶ M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History*, ed. Davis and Wallace-Hadrill, 101–26 at 117–18, 124.

⁴⁷ M. Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester', in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. J.-P. Genet, Paris 1992, 277–85; R. M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury's Carolingian Sources', *JMH* 7, 1981, 321–37 at 333–4 (reprinted in *idem*, *William of Malmesbury*, revised edn, Woodbridge 2003, 137–53 at 152–3). Also, J. Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in *idem*, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, London and Ronceverte 1986, 209–28 at 211–12.

⁴⁸ Jumièges, II, 244–5.

⁴⁹ Huntingdon, 402–3.

Le Bec and subsequently had it copied at Le Mont Saint-Michel.⁵⁰ He also believed that the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* should be continued, and tried to persuade someone else to do it, presumably because his own ambitions had become much grander. And, like Wace, he was sensitive to prophecies predicting the end of the empire of the Normans, in Robert's case demonstrated by a renumbering of the books of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*.⁵¹

Robert's choice of the format of universal history is also important not just for his attitude to the English people and their past, but to understanding the intellectual and ideological basis of the cross-Channel empire. Above all, in adopting Sigebert's world-view, which placed centre-stage the continuation of the empire of the Romans and the history of kingdoms, he demonstrated that he subscribed wholeheartedly to the notion of a continuous history of the English that was also a feature of Henry's *Historia*.⁵² In particular, Robert prefaced every annal after 1100 with a reference to the regnal years of the kingdoms known to him, a practice that he explained in his preface, and which meant that for the twelfth century he consistently included mention of the regnal years of the rulers of the Romans, the English and the French.⁵³ This foregrounding of kingdoms shows that, for Robert, the conquest of 1066 was just an episode within the continuous history of the English. This in turn calls into question analyses of English ethnic identity that deploy phrases like 'the triumph of Englishness' and dwell too heavily on the supposed strengths and weaknesses of English and Norman identities as a factor in the history of England after 1066, since, for Robert, the continuation of the *gens* and *regnum Anglorum* across 1066 was ideologically a given.⁵⁴ In writing thus, he was drawing on deeply traditional attitudes; plurality of *regna* within an empire was after all central to a system of political thought going back at least to Alcuin and the Carolingian Empire, of which Robert showed himself to be well aware because he used it exactly in relation to the 'imperial' status of the kings of Castile-Léon.⁵⁵ On this point, the view he provides from mid-twelfth-century Normandy of the *Historia Anglorum* must make all who write about the Normans and English in England think carefully.

Robert of Torigni can be a frustrating historian to read; a man of great energy and ability aspiring to reach the heights, the driving force of great projects that included the collection of historical materials from distant parts, yet a historian whose approach to his material can seem casual, even, by the standards of his contemporaries, lazy. Although he in fact ranged widely in writing a universal history, using, for example, Fulcher of Chartres and Baudri of Bourgueil for the First Crusade, he

⁵⁰ M. Mathieu, 'Le manuscrit 162 d'Avranches et l'édition princeps des *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* de Guillaume d'Apulie', *Byzantion* 24, 1954, 111–30 at 124–30; *Guglielmo di Puglia, Le Gesta di Roberto il Guiscardo*, ed. F. de Rosa, Cassino 2003, 68–9.

⁵¹ See Jumièges, I, lxxxiii–xciv. For Wace, *Wace's Roman de Brut*, trans. Weiss, 190–1. See further, J. Blacker, "'Ne vult sun livre translater': Wace's Omission of Merlin's Prophecies from the *Roman de Brut*", in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. I. Short, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications Series, no. 2, London 1993, 49–59; idem, 'Where Wace Feared to Tread: Latin Commentaries on Merlin's Prophecies in the Reign of Henry II', *Arthuriana* 6, 1995, 36–52; M. Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire 1154–1224*, Harlow 2007, 146–7.

⁵² Chazan, *L'Empire*, 158–9, 166 (fig. 1), 169–73.

⁵³ Thus, for example, *Romanorum Henricus xii, Francorum Ludovicus ix, Anglorum Henricus, xviii*, for 1118. The form of presentation varies from manuscript to manuscript.

⁵⁴ Cf H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity 1066–c. 1220*, Oxford 2003, 43–5, 392.

⁵⁵ RT, I, 178(D), 178(H). For the general issues of empire and *regna*, see, J. L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Renovation*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1994, 52–87 at especially, 69–77.

cannot be said to have over-exerted himself even here; furthermore, his material on the history of the Empire reduced dramatically after he no longer had Sigebert and his continuator Anselm to draw on. One might wonder why a man with good cross-Channel contacts dedicated to writing annals did not try to get hold of John of Worcester's Chronicle. Of course perhaps he did and was repulsed; we do not know. His attitude to Orderic is arguably even more interesting, since he knew the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and used it to write the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. Yet not only did it play almost no part in the compilation of the Chronicle, Robert, the great collector of books, did not apparently acquire a manuscript of it for either Le Bec or Le Mont Saint-Michel; perhaps, as a great worshipper of authority, he did not think that the voluminous compilation of a simple monk of Saint-Evroult could be placed on the same level as the universal chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux.⁵⁶

Because of 1204, Robert might ultimately seem to be a marginal figure, the voice of a doomed empire. Yet, placed in his times, and accepting that no one can see fifty years into the future, there is actually a case for seeing him as pivotal. He was at the centre of empire and thought in imperial terms. He was the voice of the opinion that Normans and English would continue to live together in a cross-Channel empire under Henry II. In addition, his relationship with Henry of Huntingdon was a truly notable collaboration. Robert was responsible, as no one else was, for the dissemination of materials from the *Historia Anglorum* and the *Historia Britonum* across northern France.⁵⁷ And the appearance of a manuscript (British Library, Harley ms. 651) of the first Le Bec edition at the abbey of Reading, the burial place of Robert's hero King Henry I, at a date which might be soon after 1157, draws our attention to a responsiveness to Robert's project at one of the great religious sites in England associated with the maintenance of cross-Channel imperial rule, as well as suggesting that a palaeographical analysis of that manuscript is an urgent necessity.⁵⁸

This article can ultimately only scratch the surface in terms of understanding the rather neglected life and writings of Robert of Torigni. In doing so, however, it aims both to widen analysis of the history of the twelfth-century English and to set out the case for a modern stratigraphic analysis of the Avranches manuscript and a new look at all the other manuscripts of Robert's chronicle, leading eventually to a new edition and a biography of Robert.⁵⁹ As such it is offered as a tribute to a distinguished modern historian of the medieval English.

⁵⁶ M. Chibnall, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ed. Foreville, 133–39 at 137–8.

⁵⁷ Huntingdon, cxxii–cxxxiii, cxxxiii, cxxxv–cxxxvi; P. Stirnemann, 'Two Twelfth-Century Bibliophiles and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', *Viator* 24, 1993, 121–42 at 137–42. It is notable too that a text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is included alongside Robert's Chronicle in the Jumièges manuscript of the Chronicle (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS U74).

⁵⁸ None of these issues is addressed in R. Sharpe *et al.*, *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4, London 1996, 432; A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: the Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal*, Oxford 1999, 149. Both rely exclusively on Howlett's edition.

⁵⁹ For similar comments on the need for a new edition, P. Bouet, 'Léopold Delisle et les récits littéraires en latin', in *Léopold Delisle: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (8–10 Octobre 2004)*, ed. F. Vielliard and G. Désiré dit Gosset, Saint-Lô 2007, 191–203 at 198–9. I have learnt while preparing this article that Professor Thomas N. Bisson is working on a new edition.

INVOKING EARL WALTHEOF

Emma Mason

Earl Waltheof's career has been well summarized.¹ The verdict is that although he achieved short bursts of effective and energetic military action, he was too readily influenced by those around him.² As a hero-figure he had limitations, but after his death his name was invoked to promote widely-varying interests both in England and beyond, not only in the generations which followed his death but also intermittently down to the early seventeenth century.

The earliest recorded evidence of the promotion of his name dates from the very beginning of the twelfth century, a generation after his death. Archbishop Anselm wrote two letters in an effort to suppress a tomb-cult being promoted by the nuns of Romsey abbey. One of these letters was addressed to Stephen, archdeacon of Winchester.³ Anselm ordered him to go to Romsey and order the lady abbess and the nuns in the name of the archbishop, in that of the bishop of Winchester, and in his own name as archdeacon that, if they did not want the archbishop to prohibit them from celebrating the divine office, then neither they nor anyone else must render any honour due to a saint to that deceased man whom they wanted to venerate. They must expel the son of this man from the village and there were to be no further dealings with him.⁴ Despite this reprimand the nuns persisted in observing the cult. The archbishop then wrote directly to Abbess Athelitz and her flock, ordering them again under suspension of the divine office to cease from honouring the deceased as a saint, and to expel his son from the vill.⁵ The name of the dead man is never mentioned in these letters, as though memory of him was being obliterated, but he has been identified as Waltheof.⁶ This identification is generally accepted. The persistence of the nuns in observing this tomb-cult is believed to account for Anselm's inclusion in the statutes of the Council of London 1102 of one forbidding anyone to promote new cults, or to reverence remains as those of a saint, without episcopal authority.⁷

Romsey was a high-status nunnery in the late Anglo-Saxon era. Even in the first decade of the twelfth century, there were probably still aristocratic Englishwomen among the nuns. They might have varying opinions of Waltheof as an individual,

¹ C. Lewis, 'Earl Waltheof,' *ODNB* 57, 187–89; F. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series 30, 1952, 149–215.

² Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', 210–11.

³ On Stephen, see J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: II Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)*, ed. D. E. Greenway, London 1971, 91–2.

⁴ *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols, Edinburgh 1946–61, IV, 144, Letter 236; *PL* 159, Letter LI, cols 82–3.

⁵ *S. Anselmi Opera*, IV, 144–5, Letter 237.

⁶ *PL* 159, Letter LI, cols 82–3, note.

⁷ *S. Anselmi Opera*, IV, 144, Letter 236. See Eadmer, *HN*, 143; *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Brett, 2 vols, Oxford 1981, II, 678.

but welcome the opportunity to display discreet resistance to the Norman rule which had so drastically demoted their own kinsfolk.

Abbess Athelitz, as her name indicates, was presumably of French origin, although her dates in office are uncertain.⁸ Faced on arrival with a body of socially self-confident English nuns, she might readily accept their word that the occupant of the tomb was worthy of veneration. In any case, the opportunity could not be missed to promote a new cult which might attract pilgrims and bring in revenue from their offerings. Archbishop Anselm evidently believed that the cult was being fostered by the presence in the vill of Romsey of 'the son of the deceased'. This unnamed 'son' may have been an imposter, who took advantage of nuns who had reasons of their own for accepting his claims. Yet Waltheof possibly fathered an otherwise unrecorded son. A high-status man often had a partner, or partners, in addition to the wife to whom he was formally married. Henry of Huntingdon, writing several generations after the event, described Waltheof as *parvulus* in 1055, when his father Earl Siward died.⁹ By the end of King Edward's reign he held an earldom.¹⁰ He may well have fathered a son by 1066. After Waltheof's trial, some of his retainers would naturally linger in the Winchester area to learn the verdict; perhaps witness his execution; locate his grave; and recover his body to give it a more fitting burial at a religious house relatively nearby, where they could find a refuge for the boy and his mother. This is conjecture, but the nuns of Romsey either accepted, or found it convenient to acknowledge, the claims made both for the identity of the body brought to them for burial and for the identity of the 'son'. Traces of this cult probably survived as late as c. 1130, when the Hyde Chronicle was written. The author related that miracles were still being worked by Waltheof the Gentle at a tomb of which he did not know the whereabouts.¹¹ By this date, the author might be referring to the tomb-cult being promoted at Crowland, although since Romsey was much closer to Hyde, probably he alluded to the latter cult, now rapidly fading.

Crowland, in the Fens, was another religious house which still had a strong English presence in the later years of the eleventh century. Here the cult of Waltheof was promoted more successfully than the rival one at Romsey. The monks of Crowland gave an account of the origins of this cult to Orderic Vitalis at some uncertain date between 1109 and 1124, probably in 1119.¹² When Orderic visited the abbey the cult was well under way. The abbot at the time of his visit was Geoffrey of Orléans, formerly prior of St Évroul. Orderic had been an inmate of this Norman monastery since boyhood, and by now he was an experienced writer of history.¹³ Geoffrey seemingly requested Orderic's visit because the standards of learning at Crowland were low. He was asked to write some works which would enable the community to preserve its traditions. He duly wrote an epitome of Felix's Life of St Guthlac, the Fenland hermit to whom the house was dedicated, and also a short account of the early history of Crowland.¹⁴ Orderic's informants for the history of the abbey were

⁸ *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London, 2nd ed., Cambridge 2001, 219.

⁹ Huntingdon, 380–1.

¹⁰ Lewis, 'Earl Waltheof', 187. F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, London 1970, 194 n.3, suggests that Waltheof was an earl in 1061.

¹¹ Lewis, 'Earl Waltheof', 188.

¹² Orderic, II, xxvi; the late Marjorie Chibnall in a personal communication.

¹³ *ibid.*, II, xiv–xv.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, xxvi. On St Guthlac as dedicatee, see A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066–1216*, Woodbridge 1989, 69.

named as Subprior Ansgot and other senior monks.¹⁵ These men probably also told him how Waltheof's cult developed there. Orderic wrote this up in hagiographical vein and included it as an episode in his *Ecclesiastical History*.¹⁶

According to Orderic, but unsupported by any other historian, Waltheof's wife Judith denounced him to the king as one of the leading conspirators in the revolt of 1075.¹⁷ When, after a year's imprisonment he was executed at Winchester in 1076, his body was thrown into a ditch and quickly covered with fresh turf. Judith then petitioned the king to allow her husband decent burial. Accordingly Wulfketel, the abbot of Crowland, came with the king's permission and exhumed the corpse two weeks after its burial. Orderic wrote that it was still incorrupt, and with the blood as fresh as if he had just died. The body was carried to Crowland and reverently buried in the monks' chapter-house.¹⁸

Waltheof had been a benefactor of Crowland, according to Orderic. When Wulfketel began rebuilding the abbey church, the earl granted him the manor of Barnack. Possibly Waltheof granted building stone from the quarries there, and Crowland certainly held land there in the later Middle Ages.¹⁹

Wulfketel, an Englishman, was hated by the Normans. Allegations were made against him, perhaps because of his association with the late Waltheof. Eventually he was deposed in a council, probably at Christmas 1085, and was exiled to Glastonbury abbey for several years. His successor, Ingulf, strongly petitioned King William on his behalf, and in consequence Wulfketel was allowed to return to Peterborough abbey, the house where he had been a monk before his appointment to Crowland.²⁰ There is no evidence that Wulfketel inaugurated the cult of the deceased earl. Burial in the chapter house was often accorded to an honoured benefactor. Orderic's account of the opening of Waltheof's original grave outside Winchester was written when the cult was well underway, so that he would naturally write that the body was incorrupt. Whether the abbot and his men even found the makeshift grave might be questioned. If the nuns of Romsey were venerating the earl's tomb, then the monks of Crowland were not. On the other hand, if the Crowland party did discover the correct grave, they perhaps discarded the entrails before setting out on the long journey back to their abbey. In 1216 this was done when the body of King John was about to be conveyed across country. During his last illness, the king had been attended by the abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Croxton (Leics.).²¹ Consequently this abbey obtained his *intestina*.²² By analogy, if Crowland held the body of Waltheof, possibly his entrails were buried at Romsey.

Waltheof's cult at Crowland was promoted by Ingulf, abbot from 1085/6 to 1109.²³ He was English by birth, and had been a royal clerk. After making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he became a monk in the Norman abbey of St Wandrille,

¹⁵ Orderic, II, 338–9.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, II, 320–23.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, II, 320–21.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, II, 322–3.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, II, 344–5 and n.2; *Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses*, List and Index Society, Supplementary Series 3, 3, 1964, 151.

²⁰ *ibid.*, II, 344–5 and n.3, 346–7.

²¹ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols, RS 84, London 1886–9, II, 196.

²² *Barnwell Annals*, in *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, London 1872–3, II, 232. See also *Cal. Chart. R.*, I, 463.

²³ *Heads of Religious Houses*, 42.

where he rose to become prior.²⁴ His decision to foster the tomb-cult would be prompted by the need to make good the losses of buildings, books and vestments in a fire which occurred during his abbacy.²⁵ His English birth may have been an added factor.

When the lid of Waltheof's coffin was opened, by implication in 1092, it was found that, although the body had been buried for nearly sixteen years, it was as incorrupt as on the day of its burial. The head was joined to the body and only a thin red mark could be seen as a sign of his execution. These proceedings were witnessed both by the monks and by numerous laymen. The body was then transferred into the abbey church. After the body was reburied near the altar, many healing miracles were reported there.²⁶ Later in his narrative Orderic would revise his account of when these began. Meanwhile the *translatio* of the earl's body signalled his acclamation as a holy man.

Abbot Geoffrey, Ingulf's successor, was a Frenchman, well-educated in Orléans before becoming a monk in the abbey of St Évroul in Normandy, and subsequently appointed by King Henry I as abbot of Crowland in 1109. Geoffrey began building a fine new abbey church, inevitably an expensive business. Funds for this project would be augmented by offerings from the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to Crowland in response to the news that miracles were occurring at Waltheof's tomb. Orderic now wrote that these first occurred in the third year of Geoffrey's abbacy. Most of the pilgrims were English, according to Orderic, and this greatly angered a Norman monk, Ouen, who mocked the pilgrims and denigrated Waltheof as a false traitor who had been deservedly executed. When Abbot Geoffrey tried to rebuke him, Ouen became increasingly offensive, until he collapsed in the abbot's presence. He was conveyed to St Albans abbey, where he had made his monastic profession, and died there shortly afterwards. Orderic emphasized the fact that St Alban had been the first English martyr, implying that he vindicated the claims of the English Waltheof. Geoffrey may have rebuked Ouen in order to defend a tomb-cult which was now attracting growing numbers, but on the night after their confrontation he had a vision of St Bartholomew the apostle. Guthlac the hermit, who had been devoted to this saint, was with him. They were standing beside Waltheof's tomb, reciting alternately the lines:

Headless no more,
That was earl heretofore.
Now is king for evermore.

The monks were encouraged when the abbot told them of his vision.²⁷

Following Geoffrey's death c. 1124, he was succeeded by an Englishman. Abbot Waltheof was a monk of Crowland, presumably having been sent there when the cult of his namesake began to flourish. His father Gospatric had been successively earl of Northumbria then, following his flight to Scotland, earl of Dunbar. Orderic implied that Waltheof's Christian name, his English ancestry and his noble birth contributed to his election as abbot.²⁸ The tomb miracles increased, and the monks requested Orderic Vitalis to compose an epitaph for the earl in heroic verse. The text of this, copied into his Ecclesiastical History, included the line 'Sentenced to die by

²⁴ Orderic, II, 344–7.

²⁵ *ibid.*, II, 346–7.

²⁶ *ibid.*, II, 346–7.

²⁷ *ibid.*, II, 346–9. On Guthlac and St Bartholomew, see Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, 69.

²⁸ Orderic, II, 350–51 and n.1.

cruel Norman judgement'. On resuming his narrative Orderic commented that King William was widely condemned for the execution of Earl Waltheof, and by divine judgement he faced many rebellions and setbacks.²⁹

The half-English Orderic, commissioned to write in the interests of Crowland, naturally gave a favourable verdict on Waltheof, but contemporary historians, both monastic and secular, had varying views on the earl. William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, wrote that the Conqueror was prepared to forget Waltheof's initial offences, ascribing them to a high spirit rather than to disloyalty. But even after his marriage to the king's niece Judith he could not control his natural perversity. He did not remain loyal, and was drawn into the plot of 1075. However, William continued, some people say that he joined in the plot because he was compelled to do so, and not because he was in favour of it. This excuse, William wrote, is made on his behalf by Englishmen of exceptionally high reputation. Their views are supported by the many miracles occurring at his tomb as a result of his profound repentance during his imprisonment.³⁰ The half-English William perhaps remained undecided, from a personal point of view, about the merits of Waltheof. His recorded opinion, on the other hand, perhaps echoed an Old English poem about the earl which was also used by the skald Thorkell Skallason in his lament on the earl's death.³¹

Subsequently, in his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, William of Malmesbury wrote that Waltheof was regarded as a martyr in that he was the innocent victim of murder, if it can be hoped that this is true. He added that although he gave the unfavourable version of events in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, he was now giving the alternative opinion, that of the most trustworthy Englishmen, that the earl was trapped into swearing to join the plot against his will, and gave only lip-service to it. He freely confessed to this, both to Lanfranc and to the king, and did penance for pretending to join the plotters under the constraints of the moment. While he was in prison, he wept for his misdeeds.³² William of Malmesbury, visited Crowland some time after Orderic, but no later than 1125.³³ The prior told him that, influenced by the miracles occurring at Waltheof's tomb, he handled the body which was still incorrupt. Its head had rejoined the trunk, with only a red line marking his beheading. The prior added that consequently he regarded Waltheof as a saint and intercessor.³⁴

John of Worcester, working in a house which retained strong English traditions, also wrote that Waltheof was trapped by the rebel earls into joining their plot. As soon as possible, he went to Archbishop Lanfranc, who absolved him from the oath which he had given to the conspirators. On his advice, Waltheof went to the king and gave a full account of what had occurred. He threw himself on the king's mercy, but was imprisoned and condemned. He bitterly repented the wrongs he had done, and tried to make his peace with God through vigils, prayers, fasting and almsgiving. Archbishop Lanfranc bore witness to his innocence and penitence, which atoned for his actions, yet the earl was unworthily and cruelly beheaded. Men wanted to blot out his memory on earth, but he is now worshipped with the saints in heaven.³⁵ These Benedictine writers had contacts with one another. Consequently their depic-

²⁹ *ibid.*, 350–1.

³⁰ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 468–71.

³¹ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, II, 240, 242.

³² Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 486–9.

³³ Orderic, II, xxvi.

³⁴ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 488–9.

³⁵ John of Worcester, III, 24–9.

tions of Waltheof have much in common, despite the hesitation in the earlier account by William of Malmesbury.

Secular clerics had sharply divided views on Waltheof. Henry of Huntingdon was dismissive of the earl, noting without comment his execution and burial at Crowland.³⁶ His own archdeaconry of Huntingdon lay at the centre of the earl's former estates.³⁷ Moreover, due to his responsibilities as an archdeacon, he would be aware of the cult flourishing at Crowland, but he did not mention it in his *Historia Anglorum*. Political correctness prevailed.

Geffrei Gaimar wrote more positively about Waltheof in his *Estoire des Engleis*. He depicted the earl as being fully implicated in the plot, but added that Waltheof's body was providentially retrieved by some monks of Crowland. They dedicated it to St Guthlac (their patron) and reburied it at their abbey and venerated it. Subsequently God performed numerous miracles there on many occasions.³⁸ Gaimar was commissioned to write this work by Constance, wife of Ralph fitzGilbert, who held several fees in Lincolnshire as a tenant of the baronial dynasty of Ghent.³⁹ Gaimar is not known to have had any direct associations with Lincolnshire, although there are circumstantial pointers towards this.⁴⁰ Local knowledge perhaps led him to compose the lines on Waltheof's cult. However, he would not knowingly introduce anything likely to offend his patron, so that Constance seemingly found this passage acceptable. In commissioning Gaimar to write his work, she demonstrated her interest in, and identification with, the English past. Waltheof's flourishing cult in a Lincolnshire abbey would reflect well on the region. Gaimar's account of how Constance supplied him with source material demonstrates that among even grander baronial families than the fitzGilberts a real interest in the history of Britain had developed among people of French origin.⁴¹ In this cultural climate, Gaimar composed his *Estoire*, probably between March 1136 and April 1137.⁴²

Despite their growing interest in the English past, people of French origin would still hesitate to venerate Waltheof's cult, since by implication it cast aspersions on the virtue of William the Conqueror.⁴³ Consequently the pilgrims at Waltheof's tomb seem to have been predominantly English. The miracles which they experienced were recorded in the *Miracula S. Waldevi Gloriosi Martyris*. This dossier of *miracula*, which apparently occurred early in the twelfth century, was compiled by William of Ramsey in or soon after 1212. One pilgrim, Adelis, came from Normandy, but most, if not all of the others, were English.⁴⁴ It has been observed that Englishmen still in senior positions in religious houses were particularly vulnerable to being deposed. They upheld their traditional values by promoting their English cults with what has been called 'outrageous but perfectly directed legerdemain'. The survival, both of the cults and of the abbots themselves, was at stake. Continuity of tenure depended

³⁶ Huntingdon, 398–9.

³⁷ *ibid.*, xliii.

³⁸ Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis: History of the English*, ed. I. Short, Oxford 2009, lines 5721–5736.

³⁹ *ibid.*, x–xi, lines 6436–6458.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, xii.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, lines 6436–6480.

⁴² *ibid.*, xii.

⁴³ P. A. Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 21, 1999, 67–93, at 92.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 92 and n.117.

upon the ability to demonstrate fitness for office, the best evidence for which would be the steady recurrence of *miracula* at the shrine in the abbey.⁴⁵

Abbot Waltheof's reputation declined. In December 1138 he was deposed at the legatine council held at Westminster.⁴⁶ The legate Alberic replaced him by Godfrey, prior of St Albans, but he held office only until 1143, when he died. He was succeeded in turn by Edward, abbot from 1143 until his death in 1173.⁴⁷ He had been a monk at Ramsey who rose to become the prior. Since this house was only about twenty miles to the south of Crowland, he would be well aware of Waltheof's cult. As an Englishman, he probably encouraged its popularity, although whatever the background of successive abbots, it was in their interests to attract pilgrims. Robert (1175–1190) had been a monk of Reading and then prior of its cell of Leominster.⁴⁸ At the end of his abbacy, Waltheof's shrine was still widely known, to the extent that Ralph de Diceto, dean of St Paul's, wrote of the earl as founder of Crowland.⁴⁹

The popularity of Waltheof's cult at Crowland during the twelfth century would be fostered by the presence in Lincolnshire of substantial numbers of Englishmen holding by socage tenure, as David Roffe demonstrates elsewhere in this volume. Englishmen of this status would have the freedom of action; the leisure and the resources to travel in order to venerate the last surviving earl of the Old English regime. They would also be less inclined than the new French lords to trouble about the political correctness of their pilgrimage. As David Roffe shows, Englishmen of this tenurial status were also widespread throughout the country. In view of Waltheof's parentage his cult would also appeal to those of Anglo-Danish ancestry such as the Swarts, whose extensive landholdings are traced by Lucy Marten in this volume. Over the three or four generations following the Conquest, the appeal of Waltheof's cult to potential pilgrims who shared his ethnicity would attract a steady flow of devotees. With the passing of the years, however, there was a gradual merging of cultural differences between the races. Richard fitzNigel, writing his Dialogue of the Exchequer in the last years of Henry II's reign, stated that among free people, living side by side and intermarrying, it was scarcely possible to distinguish an Englishman from a Norman.⁵⁰ As this merging of the peoples continued, Waltheof's cult would gradually lose its distinctive appeal for those who shared his ethnicity.

Abbot Henry de Longchamp (1190–1236) was a former monk of Evesham and brother of the formidable William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely.⁵¹ Henry, or perhaps his predecessor Abbot Robert, recognized that Waltheof's cult, like many others, had already peaked in popularity and needed a boost if its decline was to be halted. At some point in the later twelfth century the cult was publicized in a work entitled *Libellus de Miraculis Waltheofi ex quibus Probatum quod Merito Nomen Martyris ei Describitur*. This title implies that the work was compiled as evidence to support a petition to the papal curia for Waltheof's canonization.⁵² If so, then the plan came to nothing. Knowledge of the text spread, however, and it was quoted by Jocelin of

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 92–3.

⁴⁶ *Heads of Religious Houses*, 42; John of Worcester, III, 262–3.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 42, 247.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 42, 247.

⁴⁹ *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68, London 1876, II, 211.

⁵⁰ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, xviii–xx, 80–81.

⁵¹ *Heads of Religious Houses*, 42, 247.

⁵² Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) vetted candidates for canonization rigorously: E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008–1095*, Oxford 1990, 279–81.

Furness c. 1207. A further text, the *Miracula Sancti Waldevi Gloriosi Martyris*, was probably based on the earlier work.⁵³ The *Miracula* was almost certainly commissioned by Abbot Henry to try to update the appeal of Waltheof's cult.⁵⁴ Crowland preserved important historical traditions on the earl and his family. These were now written up in a series of short pieces, some or all of which may be the work of William of Ramsey, writer of the *Miracula*. These include the *Gesta Antecessorum Comitum Waldevi*, an account of the deeds of his father, Earl Siward; *De Comitissa*, an account of the Countess Judith, her descendants and the earls of Huntingdon down to Earl David of Scotland, who died in 1219, and a Life of Waltheof which is largely based on the histories of William of Malmesbury, Orderic and John of Worcester.⁵⁵ These works on Waltheof were evidently commissioned in conjunction with the transfer of his body to a marble tomb, ordered by Abbot Henry in 1219, but all efforts to revive interest in the earl were in vain. Pilgrims were no longer being drawn in large numbers to venerate Waltheof. This is shown by the fact that the *Miracula* included no miracles datable to recent generations. Instead, there was a reviving interest in the much earlier cult of Guthlac, patron of Crowland.⁵⁶

While Waltheof's cult flourished during the earlier twelfth century, several other Fenland abbeys claimed links of one kind or another with him. This was despite the fact that he had not been a particularly generous benefactor of monasteries in his own region. The exception is his benefaction to Crowland, despite queries that have been raised about it.⁵⁷ His land transactions with Peterborough and Thorney had been questionable.⁵⁸ Yet in the Red Book of Thorney, or Thorney Register, it was recorded that he had been generous in his dealings with the house, 'because he was a saintly man and a lover of all justice'.⁵⁹ This deference to someone regarded locally as a saint was perhaps seen to reinforce Thorney's title to the property in question. From the first decade of the twelfth century, Thorney maintained a *liber vitae* or confraternity list, extending the privileges of confraternity posthumously to various individuals stretching back over at least the preceding century.⁶⁰ Several well-known people of Scandinavian ancestry occur in the list, and in an insertion are the names of *Walðef comes et uxor eius* and *Siwardus comes*.⁶¹

At Ely, its twelfth-century kalendar recorded the *obit of frater noster Walftheuus comes* under 31 July, although the earl actually died on 31 May.⁶² This discrepancy suggests that recollections of Waltheof were vague. This is borne out in other twelfth-century texts produced at Ely which imply that he was an ally of the local hero Hereward. The earlier of these is the *Gesta Herewardi*, composed by the monk Richard of Ely.⁶³ This writer gave a fuller account of the exploits of Hereward and his associates than is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but he also made errors. Both the D-text and the E-text of the Chronicle state that Earl Edwin died before

⁵³ *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1956, 11–12.

⁵⁴ Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography', 92.

⁵⁵ *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, 41.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 12; Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, 69.

⁵⁷ Orderic, II, 344–5 and note 2.

⁵⁸ Lewis, 'Earl Waltheof', 187.

⁵⁹ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 188.

⁶⁰ C. Clark and E. van Houts, 'British Library Additional Ms. 40,000 ff. 1v–12r', *ANS* 7, 1985, 50–68, at 53–5, 58.

⁶¹ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 195.

⁶² *ibid.*, 195 and n.199.

⁶³ *Liber Eliensis. A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, trans. J. Fairweather, Woodbridge 2005, 222.

the siege of Ely began. Both also single out, among the more eminent men on Ely, Earl Morcar, Bishop Æthelwine (of Durham) and Siward Bearn.⁶⁴ Richard of Ely naturally included more detailed information on Hereward's local supporters than did the writers of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.⁶⁵ He is confused, though, about some of his hero's eminent associates, naming among them 'Edwin, earl of Leicester, his brother Morcar, earl of Warwick; and another earl called Tostig'.⁶⁶ This information came from garbled hearsay, or even from a saga or a ballad which recounted the exploits of the young earls, including Waltheof, who had all rebelled against King William in the years after the Conquest. Richard's 'Earl Tostig' perhaps originated in his understanding that 'the earl of Northumbria' had joined Hereward. This might seem plausible in the twelfth century in view of Waltheof's part in events in York in 1069.⁶⁷ Yet it was no credit to Waltheof's reputation to indicate that 'the earl of Northumbria' was Tostig, the man who was granted the earldom during Waltheof's boyhood. In 1071 Waltheof remained loyal to the king, and was rewarded with a grant of some of the lands of Hereward's supporters.⁶⁸

The *Liber Eliensis* was composed towards the end of the twelfth century.⁶⁹ The writer stated that he was recounting 'the magnificent deeds of Hereward' in brief. These were to be found in more detail in a 'book about the deeds of Hereward himself, written some time previously by the late Richard, a venerable and most learned brother of the house'.⁷⁰ The writer of the *Liber Eliensis* inadvertently conflated the events of 1071 with those of 1075, and listed the associates of 'the distinguished and mighty man Hereward' as Edwin, Morcar, [Bishop] Æthelwine, Waltheof, Siward [Bearn] and Edgar [Ætheling], whose persistent endeavours made their country turbulent with seditious uprisings.⁷¹ It has been suggested that the attitudes of the compiler may reflect English ancestry rather than Norman.⁷² Yet despite his pride in the local hero Hereward, he, like any other monastic writer, had loyalties which overrode those of ethnicity. Chief among these was the need to uphold the territory of his religious house, the patrimony of its patron saint. In times of unrest, monastic lands usually came under threat. The compiler believed that anything detrimental to the welfare and security of his monastery was unquestionably wrong.⁷³ Apart from listing Waltheof as an associate of Hereward, he did not mention the earl's name in the *Liber Eliensis*.

This work was designed in part to record Ely's benefactors and their benefactions. By implication, Waltheof was not among them. Unintentional omission perhaps occurred, since the compiler may have worked with assistants.⁷⁴ A *confrater* normally granted a benefaction in return for the spiritual privileges being accorded to him. If Waltheof made such a reciprocal grant, then it was not recorded in this work. Omission may be deliberate, since the king imposed heavy penalties on Ely

⁶⁴ ASC D, s.a. 1072; ASC E, s.a. 1071.

⁶⁵ *The Life of Hereward the Wake*, in *Three Lives of the Last Englishmen*, ed. M. Swanton, New York 1984, 67; C. Hart, *The Danelaw*, London 1992, 636–47.

⁶⁶ *The Life of Hereward the Wake*, 69, 71.

⁶⁷ ASC D, s.a. 1069; ASC E, s.a. 1069.

⁶⁸ Hart, *The Danelaw*, 640.

⁶⁹ *Liber Eliensis*, xiii, xxii.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 222.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 221.

⁷² *ibid.*, xv.

⁷³ *ibid.*, xxii.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, xvii.

once the revolt was quelled.⁷⁵ Any benefaction which Waltheof did make might be outweighed, in the eyes of the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*, by his belief that the earl was among those whose activities led Ely to incur such heavy losses. Whether intentionally or accidentally, Waltheof became a non-person in later twelfth-century records made at Ely. Although the entry in the kalendar shows that Waltheof was a *confrater* of the house, his name was allowed to fade into oblivion.

In view of Waltheof's activities during the decade from 1066, even the survival of his name in confraternity lists at Ely and Thorney might be regarded as an achievement for his posthumous reputation. The promotion of his cult at Crowland would contribute to this, counterbalancing any wish in these nearby abbeys to display political correctness. Their attitude contrasts with that of other houses. It has been argued that at Christ Church, Canterbury, the necrology was pruned to delete the names of those whose status as benefactors was now an embarrassment. At Durham there is clear evidence that the names of Earl Godwine and his son Tostig were deleted from the *Liber Vitae*, in which they had, exceptionally, been written in gold.⁷⁶

Waltheof was not a major benefactor of religious houses in the Fenlands, but he did grant the 15-hide manor of Leighton Bromswold in Huntingdonshire in alms to the abbey of St Mary's, Stow, in the Parts of Lindsey in Lincolnshire. The Norman Conquest brought an end to this small religious house, although it was revived several decades later.⁷⁷ During the intervening years William I mediated Waltheof's grant of the manor to Bishop Rémy, and confirmed it to him when his see was transferred from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln.⁷⁸ In Domesday Book, the bishop of Lincoln held this estate.⁷⁹

A more modest benefaction, of an estate of 3 hides and 3 virgates in Kinwick (*Chenemondewicke*) in Bedfordshire, was granted jointly by Waltheof and his wife Judith to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds in alms.⁸⁰ Benefactions were expected of a man of his status, but the events of the Conquest era would make him cautious about depleting his landholdings. Religious houses were perhaps increasingly regarded as territorial rivals. His forceful intervention in monastic landholdings further afield is implied in Westminster abbey's account of transactions relating to land in Tooting, Surrey. A writ of King Edward ordered that Westminster was to hold an estate of 4 hides there as fully as his kinsman Sweyn held it of him and donated it to the abbey.⁸¹ According to Domesday Book, though, after the death of King Edward, Earl Waltheof took (*accepit*) this land from Sweyn, and then mortgaged (*invadiquit*) it to Æthelnoth of London for two marks of gold. Æthelnoth then granted (*concessit*) it to St Peter (Westminster abbey) for his soul.⁸² Some spurious Westminster charters have preserved a tradition, which may be authentic, indicating that Æthelnoth was a kinsman of Sweyn, that he made other benefactions to the abbey and became a monk there. It has been suggested that after Sweyn granted the land to Tooting, he continued to hold it as a life-tenant of the abbey, intending that control should

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 229–30.

⁷⁶ R. Fleming, 'History and Liturgy at pre-Conquest Christ Church', *HSJ* 6, 1994, 67–83, at 76.

⁷⁷ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn, London 1971, 77.

⁷⁸ *Regesta*, Bates, no. 177; D. M. Owen, 'The Norman Cathedral at Lincoln', *ANS* 6, 1984, 188–99, at 192.

⁷⁹ GDB, 203v.

⁸⁰ GDB, 210v.

⁸¹ Harmer, *AS Writs*, no. 92.

⁸² GDB, 32.

subsequently revert to Westminster. He was perhaps pressurized into relinquishing the land to Waltheof, but his intention was fulfilled after Æthelnoth paid a large sum to acquire the land from the earl.⁸³

When Waltheof was granted his father's earldom of Northumbria in 1072, the monks of Durham cathedral priory would expect him to grant a major benefaction to their church, as Earl Tostig Godwineson and his wife had done.⁸⁴ Durham held the shrine of St Cuthbert, whose cult was the predominant one in the region, and the goodwill of the saint would be considered essential for any earl to rule effectively. Waltheof's dealings with the community fell short of any such expectations. He sponsored the admission of his young kinsman Morcar to the revived monastic community at Jarrow.⁸⁵ Later it was claimed at Durham that on the same occasion Waltheof granted to Prior Aldwin, and to the monks of St Cuthbert then at Jarrow, the church of St Mary in Tynemouth. These acts were said to have occurred in the presence of Bishop Walcher and the synod of the bishop of Durham, but the charter recording this grant is written in a hand of the second half of the twelfth century. Most likely it was fabricated for a lawsuit of 1172, when Durham was attempting to recover the church of Tynemouth from St Albans abbey.⁸⁶ As Symeon of Durham stated in the *Libellus*, this church was granted to the monks by Bishop Walcher when he was holding the earldom after Waltheof's death.⁸⁷ As earl of Northumbria Waltheof probably cooperated with Walcher in temporal matters to some extent, but in the *Historia Regum Anglorum*, it was stated that Waltheof sat humbly with Bishop Walcher in his synods, and obediently ensured that whatever was decreed for the reformation of Christianity was enacted throughout his earldom.⁸⁸ The northern material in this section of the *Historia* was probably the work of Symeon himself.⁸⁹ His hagiographical depiction of the earl's dealings with the bishop would enhance Durham's claim that Waltheof was a benefactor, and so support the attempts currently being made to recover the church of Tynemouth, which Earl Robert de Mowbray granted to St Albans in the early 1090s.⁹⁰

Waltheof's association with the church of Durham was also indicated in its *Liber Vitae*, for a different reason. On folio 47 verso of this manuscript, in the left hand margin, an early twelfth-century hand has squeezed in the names; Walðef, Juthitta, Maald, Simund, David – in other words Earl Waltheof and his wife Judith, their elder daughter and principal heiress Mahaut, and her successive husbands Simon de St Liz and David of Scotland.⁹¹ This insertion, post-dating Mahaut's second marriage in 1114, was probably made on the initiative of David. In the late eleventh century,

⁸³ Harmer, *AS Writs*, 311–12, 512; *Westminster Abbey Charters 1066–c. 1214*, ed. E. Mason, assisted by the late J. Bray, continuing the work of the late D. J. Murphy, London Record Society 25, 1988, no. 60.

⁸⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason, Oxford 2000, 174–7, 186–7.

⁸⁵ *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, RS 75, London 1882–5, II, 209; W. M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071–1153*, Woodbridge 1998, 95.

⁸⁶ *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071–1152*, ed. H. S. Offler, Surtees Society 179, 1968, nos. 4, 5, 5a, 5b; *English Episcopal Acta XI, Exeter 1046–1184*, ed. Frank Barlow, Oxford 1996, no. 76A.

⁸⁷ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, lxxxviii, 234–5.

⁸⁸ *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, II, 200.

⁸⁹ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, xlii–xliii, xlvi–l.

⁹⁰ Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 176 and n152.

⁹¹ *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey, and L. Rollason, Woodbridge 2004, 115.

his father King Malcolm Canmore maintained links with the community of St Cuthbert. Devotion to the saint was a way of asserting his presence in Northumbria, in face of the military advances of William II.⁹² Accordingly the names of Malcolm, his wife Margaret, all their children and his mother-in-law Agatha were recorded in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.⁹³ In 1107, David's brother King Edgar bequeathed to him lands in Lothian and Cumbria, a bequest which King Henry I pressurized King Alexander, Edgar's successor, into fulfilling. Henry's action was not altruistic, since the bequest contributed to the weakening of the Scottish kingdom. His subsequent grant of the widowed Mahaut to David was an inducement to him to act in the interests of Henry himself, since she was effectively heiress to Waltheof's earldom in the East Midlands, which was now designated that of Northampton and Huntingdon.⁹⁴ The entry in the Durham *Liber Vitae* which included the names of Waltheof and Judith together with that of her first husband, Earl Simon, implied that David, by virtue of his marriage, was both entitled to the earldom of Northumbria, vacant since Robert de Mowbray was deprived of it in 1095, and was also the successor of Earl Simon, in his southern earldom. Simon had indicated his own status as Waltheof's successor in this southern earldom by naming his younger son after the boy's maternal grandfather, perhaps intending that he should eventually hold these English lands. However, following Simon's death and Mahaut's remarriage, her younger son was taken to the Scottish court. He was reared for an ecclesiastical career which culminated in his canonization.⁹⁵

During his tenure of the earldom of Northumbria, between 1072 and his forfeiture in 1075, Waltheof moved in a society which was reflected both in Old English ballads and, later, in Icelandic sagas. Like many saga heroes, his long memory for past wrongs provoked him to vengeance at an opportune moment. A Durham tract, the *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, has been dated alternatively to the 1070s, very soon after the actions of Waltheof which it records, or to within the first two decades of the twelfth century.⁹⁶ Its convoluted and bloodthirsty narrative concerning the descent of lands claimed by the community of St Cuthbert relates how Carl son of Thurbrand treacherously killed Earl Ealdred of Northumbria, the maternal grandfather of Waltheof. This occurred before Waltheof was born, but soon after he became earl of Northumbria he sent a large band of young men to avenge the killing. They massacred several of Carl's sons and grandsons when they were feasting together at Settrington, near York.⁹⁷ This episode is tersely narrated in the laconic prose of the Durham tract. A more colourful account of Waltheof avenging the murder of his grandfather was perhaps contained in the extended praise-song which was generated for him in his lifetime by someone enjoying his patronage.

This Old English poem is now lost, but there are indications in other works that within a few decades of his death it had circulated widely and was used as a source by several authors. William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*,

⁹² E. Mason, *William II: Rufus, the Red King*, Brimscombe Port 2005, 111; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 228–30, but see also 235–6.

⁹³ *The Durham Liber Vitae*, 115; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 228–30.

⁹⁴ W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: the Region and its Transformation 1000–1135*, London 1979, 203–4.

⁹⁵ D. Baker, 'Legend and Reality: the Case of Waldef of Melrose', *Studies in Church History* 12, 1975, 59–82.

⁹⁶ C. J. Morris, *Marriage and Murder in Eleventh-Century Northumbria: a Study on 'De Obsessione Dunelmi'*, Borthwick Paper 82, York 1992, 10; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 46, n.136.

⁹⁷ Morris, *Marriage and Murder*, 3–4; Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 193–4.

described how Waltheof, at the siege of York in 1069, single-handedly beheaded many of the Normans as they emerged from the gate.⁹⁸ The D-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle became lyrical when describing the arrival of the large Danish force in the Humber, and was met by Edgar Ætheling; Earl Waltheof, Maerlswain and Earl Gospatric, with the Northumbrians and all the people of that land, riding and marching with an enormous force, with much rejoicing. They went resolutely to York, and broke down and demolished the castle. Once inside, they seized countless treasures; killed many hundreds of Frenchmen and took many people to their ships.⁹⁹ The hyperbole of this passage is reminiscent of a poetic source, possibly also used by William of Malmesbury.

It has been suggested that the conjectured Waltheof cycle included a complete poem on his father Earl Siward.¹⁰⁰ William of Malmesbury wrote of 'the very grand Earl Siward Digera, the Mighty'.¹⁰¹ Two heroic episodes about Siward were included by Henry of Huntingdon in his *Historia Anglorum*.¹⁰² One episode, on Siward's death, has some fairly close parallels in Scandinavian literature, but Henry would have drawn on an English source, probably the lost 'Siward's Saga'.¹⁰³ This hypothetical Old English poem seems to be the basis for the *Gesta Antecessorum Comitum Waldevi* included in the *Vita et Passio Waldevi* which originated at Crowland. The account in this work of the death of Earl Siward is similar to that given by Henry of Huntingdon.¹⁰⁴ The Siward poem was apparently circulating independently by the thirteenth century, if not earlier, since Crowland's companion Life of Waltheof is largely derivative.

Besides employing the author of the lost heroic poem in Old English, Waltheof was also patron of a second poet, a composer of skaldic verse. Waltheof's cradle-language would have been English, thanks to his Bernician mother and her entourage, but in boyhood he may well have heard skaldic poems being declaimed to his father. This complex poetry, which required time and training to appreciate, was being produced in England for the Norse-speaking aristocracy of the earlier eleventh century.¹⁰⁵ It may be questioned how much of this poetry was fully understood by Earl Siward himself, let alone his younger son. Danes back in the motherland were said by one mid-eleventh century skald to have as many difficulties with its complex language as did the expatriates in England. Even so, an eminent man employed a skald in order to publicize his ancestry and his deeds.¹⁰⁶ Poetry composed for Danes living in England included some English words and syntax.¹⁰⁷ Such concessions enabled these patrons to appreciate skaldic verse, and Waltheof evidently believed that it was appropriate for a man of his status, of Danish paternal ancestry, to do so. The skald Thorkell Skallason described Waltheof as 'minn hari' – 'my lord'.¹⁰⁸ His role in the earl's household would be to compose praise-songs

⁹⁸ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* I, 468–9, II, 240–1.

⁹⁹ ASC D, s.a. 1069.

¹⁰⁰ C. F. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*, Edinburgh 1939, 129.

¹⁰¹ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 468–9.

¹⁰² Huntingdon, 376–8.

¹⁰³ Huntingdon, cv–cvi; Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga*, 128–9.

¹⁰⁴ Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga*, 133.

¹⁰⁵ R. Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A. R. Rumble, London 1994, 106–24, at 107–8.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 109–10.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰⁸ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 165.

on Waltheof. In his poem *Valþjosflokkur*, a lament on the death of Waltheof, the earl is said to have caused the death by burning of a hundred 'Frenchmen', although the poet does not say where this occurred.¹⁰⁹ Later Icelandic works, including Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, cited the poem for a statement that the event occurred on the evening of the Battle of Hastings. As Waltheof and his men escaped from the battlefield, they ran into a troop of William's soldiers who fled into an oakwood. Waltheof had the wood set on fire and they were all burned to death.¹¹⁰ This episode is not impossible. In the confusion which followed the collapse of the English line of battle, there were said to be Norman casualties as well as English ones, when the victors pursued the vanquished into the surrounding woodlands.¹¹¹ However, Waltheof is not known from other sources to have been present at this battle. The episode has probably been transposed from the events at York in 1069 when he took a leading role in the slaughter when the town was captured.¹¹² William of Malmesbury wrote that Waltheof beheaded the Normans as they emerged from the gate one by one.¹¹³ The Chronicle states that it was the French who fired the city.¹¹⁴ Even so, there were limits to how much smoke each man could take. The smoking-out of enemies in order to kill them as they emerged was standard practice in Northumbria, as shown by the killing of both Copsi, in 1067 and then Robert Comyn early in 1069.¹¹⁵ In 1080, Bishop Walcher was similarly smoked out.¹¹⁶ It would not be surprising if Waltheof ordered the smoking-out of his opponents, but the episode in *Heimskringla* became garbled over the years. A fourteenth-century compilation, the *Saga Játvarðar Konungs hins Helga* (The Saga of Edward the Confessor) included anecdotes and legends.¹¹⁷ Among these, was an incident relating how Waltheof fled from the battle of Hastings into a wood after the deaths of King Harold and Gyrrh, but William the Bastard ordered him and a hundred men with him to be burned.¹¹⁸

Thorkell Skallason stated in his second stanza, but without giving any details, that King William betrayed Waltheof.¹¹⁹ This provided inspiration for episodes in the sagas. While Waltheof's cult flourished at Crowland, awareness of it would spread, probably reaching Iceland through traders buying salt from producers around the coasts of the Wash.¹²⁰ Consequently episodes elaborating on Waltheof's betrayal were presented in a hagiographical light. A second skaldic poem, the anonymous *Haraldzstikki*, includes in its account of the battle of Fulford a stanza describing how Waltheof's host was struck down in the fen, so that the brave Norwegians could cross by treading on corpses.¹²¹ Although narratives written in England do not record Waltheof's presence in any of the battles of 1066, the skaldic stanzas were

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 167, n.77.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, 166; *King Harald's Saga: Harald Hardradi of Norway, from Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*, trans. M. Magnusson and H. Pálsson, London 1966, cap. 96.

¹¹¹ Poitiers, 138–9.

¹¹² *King Harald's Saga*, 157, n2.

¹¹³ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 468–9, II, 240–1.

¹¹⁴ ASC D, *s.a.* 1069.

¹¹⁵ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 172, 175.

¹¹⁶ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 500–501.

¹¹⁷ C. Fell, 'The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor: its Version of the Anglo-Saxon Emigration to Byzantium', *ASE* 3, 1974, 179–96, at 179.

¹¹⁸ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 168.

¹¹⁹ *King Harald's Saga*, cap. 97.

¹²⁰ On salt production and trading around the Wash, see D. M. Owen, 'Bishop's Lynn: the First Century of a New Town?', *ANS* 2, 1980, 141–53 and 196–7, at 146–8.

¹²¹ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 165, n.66.

composed fairly soon after the events they describe. They were included in Icelandic sagas of later generations. The stanza about his fallen host at Fulford was embedded in the *Heimskringla*, *Hulda* and *Hrokkinskinna*.¹²²

Waltheof served to depict Harald Hardrada in a favourable light in comparison with William I. *Hemingsþattr* gives the most detailed account of Waltheof's reputed part in the battles of Fulford, Stamford Bridge and Hastings. After the battle of Fulford, Harald Hardrada is said to have treated Waltheof honourably, even though he refused to swear never to fight against him. This is contrasted with the conduct of William I after Waltheof accepted the king's peace. He and ten of his men were given leave to go home, but William sent troops after them with orders to kill them. Waltheof made no resistance, but went into a church. There he was killed and buried, and is consequently considered holy.¹²³

Fagrskinna tells how Waltheof obtained the king's peace and was granted an earldom in Northumberland over which he had been earl previously. He was given a writ and seal ring. He set off, but King William sent knights after him to kill him. He was outnumbered, and captured. He gave his silk kirtle to the knight who was about to kill him; lay down; crossed himself; stretched out both his arms and was beheaded. Many men are healed through his blood, and he is a true saint. This episode is influenced by the story of Waltheof's death as it was recounted by Orderic Vitalis. However, the author of the saga referred his audience to 'Thorkell son of Thord Skalli, a *hirdmadr* (retainer) of Earl Waltheof,' who composed a detailed poem about the earl's death.¹²⁴

A variation on Waltheof's declining to swear the oath to Harald Hardrada is told in *Hemings Þáttur*. Waltheof refused, saying that it seemed to him that Tostig (Harald's ally) did not intend him to have much of an inheritance. Earl Godwine, styled 'the earl who ruled Northumberland', is said to be the father of Waltheof.¹²⁵ The claim that Godwine was the father both of Earl Waltheof and of Earl Morcar is made both in King Harald's Saga (in *Heimskringla*) and in *Knytlinga Saga*.¹²⁶ Given his half-Danish ancestry, Waltheof would be remembered in the Scandinavian world as one of the most prominent nobles of the Old English state. There would be a natural assumption that he was present at all the major battles of 1066. When the sagas came to be composed, long after the events of 1066, it might well seem probable that Waltheof was among the half-Danish sons of the celebrated Earl Godwine.

In England, the transformation of Waltheof into a fictional hero had two distinct strands, each originating in a region where lands were held by the descendants of one or other of his daughters by Judith. In one strand, Waltheof was used as the name of a romance hero whose adventures had little or nothing in common with the historical figure. In the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries, members of aristocratic families of French origin increasingly identified with their English territories by encouraging poets to compose stories around some territorial forebear, or else some legendary figure of the region, with whom they could claim, or pretend to claim, some affinity.¹²⁷ Aliz, the younger daughter of Earl Waltheof and Judith, married Ralf de Tosny II. His father, Ralf de Tosny I was standard-bearer

¹²² *ibid.*, 164–5.

¹²³ *ibid.*, 168–9.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, 167.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, 169.

¹²⁶ *King Harald's Saga*, cap. 75, 96; *Knytlinga Saga: the History of the Kings of Denmark*, trans. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, Odense 1986, cap. 11.

¹²⁷ M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, Oxford 1963, 140–41.

of Normandy at the battle of Hastings. He was rewarded with extensive landholdings in south-west Mercia, but also gained some estates in Berkshire, Essex and Hertfordshire, together with Necton in Norfolk and its many berewicks. During the twelfth century the Norfolk lands were augmented by royal grant.¹²⁸ When Ralf de Tosny II married Aliz, he acquired some estates in Essex and Cambridgeshire which had been held by her parents.¹²⁹

The *Estoire de Waldef*, an Anglo-Norman romance, was composed around the last decade of the twelfth century by an anonymous author. Although it now lacks its ending, it still runs to well over twenty-two thousand lines.¹³⁰ The author claimed that he was translating from a source which was already popular before the Conquest with the English of all ranks.¹³¹ Perhaps this was the poem, now lost, which was apparently used both in the D-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and by William of Malmesbury. It was most likely commissioned by Earl Waltheof himself, and was later transmitted by Aliz to one of her husband's residences in his English estates.

Subsequent members of the Tosny family might enjoy hearing this tale of Waltheof, their ancestor in the maternal line. The gist of the poem was probably appreciated, since they would have acquired a working knowledge of spoken English through their household staff.¹³² At the same time, polite literature was normally composed in Anglo-Norman French.¹³³ Rewriting the poem, or purporting to do so, would create the opportunity for the late twelfth-century poet to extend the geographical sweep of the action; introduce topical fictional characters such as Saracens, and tone down anachronistically violent episodes which had crept into the poem as it was transmitted verbally over a century and more.¹³⁴ The tortuous plot of *Waldef* has no point of contact with the career of Earl Waltheof, although the poet was evidently aware of his cult at Crowland, since one of the sons of the fictional hero is named *Guðlac* (Guthlac).¹³⁵

In the fifteenth century, when *Waldef* was still complete, a writer stated, presumably on the basis of the closing lines, that the romance author had translated the Old English version into Anglo-Norman French because his patron knew no English.¹³⁶ The romance author composed his work for his *dame*, as his *duce amie*.¹³⁷ This is reminiscent of Geffrei Gaimar writing the *Estoire des Engleis* for Constance fitzGilbert earlier in the twelfth century.¹³⁸ On chronological grounds, the likeliest patron of *Waldef* may well be another Constance, the wife of Roger de Tosny II.¹³⁹ A suggestion that the patron came from Normandy has been based on an episode in the poem in which 'the king of Normandy's sister' fell in love with 'King Bede', but regretted that while Englishmen were very good-looking, they were gauche and

¹²⁸ *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100–1268*, ed. E. Mason, Pipe Roll Society new series 43, 1980, xliii–xliv, xlv.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, xlvi.

¹³⁰ Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 143.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 144.

¹³² C. Clark, 'Women's Names in Post-Conquest England: Observations and Speculations', *Speculum* 53, 1978, 223–51.

¹³³ I. Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *ANS* 14, 1992, 229–49.

¹³⁴ Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 143–54.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 144.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 143–5.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, 145.

¹³⁸ Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, xi, xxv, lines 6435–58.

¹³⁹ *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, xlv.

did not know how to speak to a woman.¹⁴⁰ Constance, the wife of Roger de Tosny II, was reared in Normandy. She was the daughter of Richard, *vicomte* de Beaumont, while her grandmother, yet another Constance, was a daughter of Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy.¹⁴¹

The fictional *Waldef* held the popular imagination for centuries to come. One version of his adventures was translated into Middle English. Although this work has since been lost, it was used in the fifteenth century by John Bramis, a monk of Thetford in Norfolk. He made an abbreviated translation in Latin prose, eked out by *Waldef*, which was apparently still complete in his time.¹⁴² A second, and shorter Latin romance version was also made in the fifteenth century by an unknown author.¹⁴³

While *Waldef* and its offshoots probably associated the descendants of Aliz with Waltheof on some of his more easterly estates, the descendants of her sister Mahaut most likely encouraged the romanticized projection of him as earl of Huntingdon in that part of the East Midlands where most of his landholdings had lain. Ann Williams demonstrated that Waltheof succeeded Ralf, nephew of King Edward, in an earldom which comprised Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire. In 1051–2, Waltheof's father Earl Siward seems to have administered Huntingdonshire during the exile of Earl Harold Godwineson, and in one writ, King Edward addressed him as earl of Huntingdon.¹⁴⁴ Waltheof held the shires of Huntingdon and Northampton as a single earldom, and they continued to be held in this way down to the early years of King Stephen's reign. From then onwards, the succession became complex, eventually giving rise to new literary invocations of Waltheof. There is no firm evidence that Mahaut's first husband, Simon de St Liz, was styled earl of the joint shires. Following his death *c.* 1111, and her second marriage, David of Scotland was styled earl from *c.* 1113–14, and continued to hold the earldom after he became King of Scots in 1124.¹⁴⁵ In 1136, he resigned the earldom, to which Henry, his son by Mahaut, succeeded. In 1141, on the outbreak of hostilities in England, King David declared his support for his niece the Empress Matilda, and King Stephen now recognized Simon de St Liz II, the son of Mahaut's first marriage, as earl of Huntingdon. Possibly he also recognized Simon as earl of Northampton later in the reign.¹⁴⁶ Earl Simon died in August 1153, having survived Henry of Scotland by little over a year.¹⁴⁷ Following the death of John 'the Scot' in 1237, the earldom of Huntingdon was in abeyance for a century, then passed through a series of other families.¹⁴⁸

The chequered descent of Waltheof's earldom was an incentive to its occupants to commission propaganda in support of their claims to be the rightful earls. Knowledge of a family's ancestry was usually handed down by women, most often by mothers and grandmothers, who transmitted claims to lands together with the

¹⁴⁰ Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 146.

¹⁴¹ *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters*, xlv.

¹⁴² Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 143, 145.

¹⁴³ Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*, 121.

¹⁴⁴ A. Williams, 'The King's Nephew: the Family and Career of Ralph, Earl of Hereford', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth, and J. L. Nelson, Woodbridge 1989, 327–43 at 339, and n.67.

¹⁴⁵ *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, 3rd edn, London 1986, 466.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 466, 474.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 466.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

obligation to ensure that prayers were said for their deceased kindred.¹⁴⁹ Mahaut would transmit the claims of her sons to hold Waltheof's earldom. Her elder son by Simon de St Liz was still a young boy at his father's death, and would have become a royal ward, while his younger brother, known to history as Waldef, was consigned to a clerical career. Consequently it was Henry, the son whom Mahaut bore to the future King David, who would be the recipient of ancestral memories.

Later, other women also had good reason to promote the claims of the Scottish line to Waltheof's earldom. An abbey of Cluniac nuns was founded by Simon de St Liz II, c. 1145, at Delapr , just outside the town of Northampton.¹⁵⁰ When the St Liz line died out, the nuns needed the goodwill of the earls of the Scottish line in order to ensure the protection of a powerful patron, since the abbey had suffered losses following the change in the tenure of the earldom. The Delapr  Chronicle dates from the early thirteenth century, probably during the abbacy of Odierda. It was perhaps intended to combat the challenge facing the nuns caused by the brief forfeiture of the earldom at the end of John's reign, since the central theme was that the earldom was rightfully held by the Scottish line. It was written in French, probably to make it accessible to a lay audience.¹⁵¹

An early section of the Chronicle, dealing with Siward and Waltheof, is close to the Latin text of a Crowland chronicle. Additionally, though, it refers to a Life of Siward 'in the book of the English which is in Nottinghamshire, which belonged to Richard the cantor of Nottingham'.¹⁵² Possibly this 'book of the English' contained an early reference to Waltheof as earl of Huntingdon. In the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries, when the Scottish line again held the earldom, it is likely that one of these earls commissioned a romanticized tale of Waltheof as earl of Huntingdon. Some such tale circulated widely, since the Icelandic works *Morkinskinna*, *Hrokkinskinna* and *Hulda*, all style Waltheof jarl of *Huntutuni*.¹⁵³ Tales of Waltheof's exploits would circulate in the later eleventh century in the East Midlands, among his tenants and commended men, and then be transmitted verbally down the generations, increasingly fictionalized over the years, and merging with a romanticized projection of him as earl of Huntingdon.¹⁵⁴ In the popular mind his image would merge with other derring-do heroes, which probably accounts for the identification of Robin Hood with 'the earl of Huntingdon' in late variations of the tales.

As late as 1600 Waltheof was commemorated, due to William I's grant to him and his wife Judith of all the lands of Turchil of Harringworth, one of the associates of Hereward the Wake. The monks of Thorney appealed to Waltheof, stating that they had leased to Turchil 6 of the 9 hides at which one of these estates, Conington, in Huntingdonshire, was assessed. 'Being a just and holy man', he returned the 6 hides to the monks. In order to prevent their abbot, Fulcard, from granting this land to his kinsfolk, the monks offered it to Waltheof on the same terms as Turchil held it. He accepted the offer, and held the 6 hides at a rent of 1 mark. In 1086 Judith still held the land but had ceased to pay the rent.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700–1300*, ed. E. Van Houts, Harlow 2001, 6–8, 17.

¹⁵⁰ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 270.

¹⁵¹ Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 295. On Odierda, see *Heads of Religious Houses*, 216

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 296.

¹⁵³ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', 166.

¹⁵⁴ W. G. Searle, *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis: an Investigation Attempted*, Cambridge 1896, 108–9.

¹⁵⁵ *VCH Huntingdonshire*, III, 146.

The manor of Conington was acquired in 1460 by the Cotton family. Robert Cotton, the eminent antiquarian, held it from 1592. In 1600 he commissioned two cenotaphs to be erected in the north aisle of All Saints church, commemorating two eminent former holders of the manor, David of Scotland earl of Huntingdon, and his son Henry of Scotland. Robert Cotton's antiquarian knowledge, combined with anachronistic inventiveness, is demonstrated on these cenotaphs. The sculpture on that of David was designed to show his descent from five kings of various lands, together with other eminent people, represented by what purported to be their coats of arms. A niche above the cornice is surmounted by a shield quartering the arms of Scotland, of the Anglo-Saxon kings, of Waltheof, and of Ealdred (father of Ælflæd, the mother of Waltheof). Further shields on three brackets include those bearing the purported arms of Waltheof's daughter Mahaut, and the arms of Earl Siward, or perhaps Waltheof, impaling those of Earl Ealdred. Robert Cotton was reputed to have suggested the creation of the rank of baronet as a means of raising money for the Crown, and was created a baronet himself in 1611.¹⁵⁶ This did not elevate him to the status of the individuals commemorated on the cenotaphs, yet as lord of the manor of Conington, he could bask in the reflected glory of his eminent territorial predecessors – among them Waltheof.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid*, 148, 150. My thanks are due to the late Phyllis Stevens, who drew my attention to this cenotaph.

HIDDEN LIVES: ENGLISH LORDS IN POST-CONQUEST LINCOLNSHIRE AND BEYOND

David Roffe

1066 is justifiably the most famous date in English history. England did not become Norman with the death of King Harold on 14 October in that year: the Norman Conquest and settlement was a protracted process that continued into the 1080s and beyond. Nevertheless, the Domesday inquest of 1086 affords a vantage point from which it can be seen that England had changed radically. An English aristocracy had been superseded by a predominantly Norman one. Traditionally, that transfer of power has been seen in essentially military terms. The imposition of 'the Norman yoke' was by right of conquest, and the feudalism that William the Conqueror introduced was a revolution in tenure. Recent analyses have been more nuanced. The conquest undoubtedly saw episodes of unbridled acquisitiveness, especially in the early days. But the settlement was essentially an ordered process. It was English laws and English customs that underpinned Norman tenure in 1086.¹

Ann Williams' work on the English and the Norman Conquest has been central to this reassessment. It is to her that we owe a much greater understanding of the importance of Englishmen – the term is here used of all those with roots in England – to a successful Norman settlement. The evidence is often fragmentary, but, taken together, overwhelming. A conservative estimate puts the total number of English landowners in 1086, as recorded in Domesday Book, at 1000 or so individuals holding some 6% of the recorded land valued at 4.2% of the national income.² The most visible survivors were ministers, that is, those who were in one way or another involved in royal administration, especially that of the boroughs.³ The Normans needed, and made full use of, native expertise in the running of the apparatus of state. However, survivors were not confined to this class of official. Other Englishmen retained their lands by various strategies and continued to hold them in 1086 from Norman lords under much the same terms as before the Conquest. In addition there was what has been characterized as a further substrate of Englishmen who were largely unrecorded in Domesday but can be identified in later sources as an important element in local societies.⁴

¹ For a convenient review of changing ideas, see M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*, Manchester 1999.

² H. M. Thomas, 'The Significance and Fate of the Native English Landholders of 1086', *EHR* 118, 2003, 303–33 at 306–7; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: a Prosopography of People Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166*, Woodbridge 1999, 23–4.

³ W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194*, Oxford 1966, 247–8; J. Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 201–18 at 210–12; J. Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 5, 1983, 129–45 at 131–2; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995, 71–125.

⁴ C. P. Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors', *HSJ* 5, 1993, 17–44.

Ann has emphasized the continuing importance of these Englishmen in the twelfth century.⁵ Hugh Thomas, by contrast, has argued that their survival was merely a temporary expedient. Few Englishmen of any importance, he asserts, managed to establish their families and by the early twelfth century most of their lands had passed to Normans. The English of rank of 1086 were the last of a dying species.⁶ This paper examines the evidence from Lincolnshire which has not hitherto been considered in detail. There not only does Domesday Book under-record the number of English but also the later, predominantly feudal, documentation. Englishmen of thegnly status held extensive amounts of land in 1086 and indeed their descendants continued to do so into the thirteenth century and beyond as a significant element in county society.

The difficulties of identifying Englishmen in Domesday Book are well known.⁷ By and large the English pool of personal names was distinct from those used in Normandy, Brittany, and the Low Countries from where most of the invaders came and are therefore a reliable indicator of ethnicity in 1086. However, with common Germanic and Scandinavian roots, England shared a small number of names with its continental neighbours and these can cause uncertainty as to the origins of those who held them. In the present study, where doubts exist, individuals have been identified as English only when their names are recorded as in use in 1066 or there is other evidence of English ethnicity. The names in the Appendix therefore represent a minimum of Englishmen holding land in Lincolnshire in 1086.⁸ There are 183 in total, referring to perhaps 88 individuals. They were of varying status. Most were of modest means and their standing in society was accordingly subordinate. Four, however, were of a decidedly higher order. Kolsveinn, Kolgrimr, Svartbrandr, and Ketilbiörn are named in the list of the sixty-eight major landholders of the shire entered after the account of the boroughs at the beginning of the Lincolnshire folios.⁹

The most eminent was undoubtedly Kolsveinn who, holding in chief of the king, was of what would later be called baronial status. In 1086 he was in possession of 101 carucates of land in fifty-four villages in Lindsey and Kesteven along with land in Lincoln. He did not hold extensively before the Conquest, if at all, unless he was silently entered as one of the unnamed citizens of Lincoln in 1066. He succeeded to the land of a kinsman (*nepos*) Cola in the city and possibly in Barlings in Lawress Wapentake,¹⁰ but otherwise he probably owed his fee to the patronage of William the Conqueror, succeeding to the lands of some thirty-six pre-Conquest holders of land. Of these, Eskil, who held land in Ashby in Flaxwell Wapentake with sake and soke, was a king's thegn.¹¹ He, however, was the exception. Most of his predeces-

⁵ Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, 155–220.

⁶ Thomas, 'Native English Landholders', 303–31.

⁷ C. P. Lewis, 'Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1997, 69–87.

⁸ The list is apparently somewhat more extensive than that of Thomas, 'Native English Landholders', 333. However, Thomas provides only a list of references to the Phillimore edition of the Lincolnshire text (*Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, eds P. Morgan and C. Thorn, Chichester 1986, hereafter *DB Lincs*).

⁹ GDB, 337: *DB Lincs*, L. In the event Svartbrandr and Ketilbiörn's lands were entered in one chapter entitled 'Terra Sortebrand et aliorum thegnorum' and other lands were incorporated into Kolgrimr's chapter.

¹⁰ GDB, 336v, 356v: *DB Lincs*, C21; 26,7. *Nepos* is usually translated as 'nephew', but the context suggests a less specific relationship: the term can indicate any descendent of a common grandparent (pers. comm. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan).

¹¹ GDB, 376v: *DB Lincs*, CK11.

sors were of lower status, probably all median thegns. Some may have held of Eskil, but there are no signs of extended tenurial groups of estates. Kolsveinn appears to have acquired his lands piecemeal either in the course of his job, by grant of the king, or a combination of the two.

The nature of his office is not explicit, but there is no doubt that he was a minister of the king. Sir Francis Hill, the historian of Lincoln, characterized him as a quisling, who acted as the king's reeve in Lincoln.¹² That, however, is a somewhat anachronistic assessment of him. Whatever his sympathies, he clearly did not fight at Hastings – had he done so, he would not have been preferred – and presumably he kept aloof from the uprising in the North in 1068/9. Thereafter, it was a matter of accommodation with the new regime. Whatever his role, Kolsveinn evidently inspired some confidence in the king as an inhabitant of Lincoln. A remarkable passage in the Domesday account of the city indicates that he was entrusted with land to promote what appears to have been a royal project:

Kolsveinn has in the city of Lincoln 4 tofts of his kinsman Cola's land; and outside the city he has 36 houses and 2 churches to which nothing belongs, which he built on the wasteland that the king gave him, and that was never before built upon. Now the king has all the customs from them.¹³

The grant resulted in the extension of the suburb of Butwerk to the east of the Lower City.¹⁴ Kolsveinn's principal residence was probably in the Bail – the later history of his fee indicates that it met in *Bardolfshalle* in St Clements parish¹⁵ – but whether he was reeve of the city is essentially unverifiable.

However, before 1086 Kolsveinn evidently did have some sort of county role. In the *clamores* for the North Riding of Lindsey, it is recorded that 'Kolsveinn did not deliver the land of Ingimund and his brothers to Count Alan, but the same Ingimund made it subject under the count himself because of other land which he held of him'.¹⁶ The land in question was probably manors in Beesby and Newton in the wapentakes of Haverstoe¹⁷ and delivery or livery was the formal process of transferring the land from one lord to another. It was a role normally entrusted to an agent of the king. That agent might be the sheriff to whom the king regularly addressed writs, but on occasion it was any royal officer who was commissioned to undertake the task. Kolsveinn's descendants had just such a role. By 1101 Kolsveinn had been succeeded by his son Picot and from then until his death sometime before 1115 Picot was regularly associated with the sheriff in the king's business in Lincolnshire.¹⁸ His daughter Muriel was his heir and she married a Norman, Robert de la Haye. Thereafter, the fee descended in the de la Haye family who held it as constables of Lincoln castle and Lincolnshire.¹⁹ Kolsveinn may well have had a broadly similar office. It is tempting, then, to identify his father or a close relative as a staller, the pre-Conquest equivalent.²⁰

¹² J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge 1948, 48–50.

¹³ GDB, 336v: *DB Lincs*, C22.

¹⁴ Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 133–4.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents*, 14 vols, PRO, 1904–54, V, no. 279; Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, D&C Dii, 76/2/22.

¹⁶ GDB, 376: *DB Lincs*, CN26.

¹⁷ GDB, 347v: *DB Lincs*, 12,29;31.

¹⁸ *Regesta*, II, nos. 531, 964, 1116, 1118, 1166.

¹⁹ I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327*, Oxford 1960, 109.

²⁰ K. Mack, 'The Stallers: Administrative Innovation in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *JMH* 12, 1986, 123–34. It is certainly suggestive in this context that the service of the honour was based on the

Kolgrimr was of less elevated status than Kolsveinn but was nevertheless an important local figure who also established a dynasty. Unlike Kolsveinn, he held a modest fee before the Conquest. In demesne were the manors of Ingoldsby, Houghton, Gonerby, and Ewerby; *Burg*, Belton, Swinderby, and Westby were probably held by tenants.²¹ Kolgrimr was still in possession of these manors in 1086 and in addition was a tenant of various other lords in northern Kesteven. How he came to be enfeoffed in these lands is unrecorded. He may, of course, have simply commended himself to Count Alan and the like after the Conquest and received the lands in question in return for service. The process seems to be the best explanation of his tenure of Dowdyke and Algarkirk in Holland from Crowland abbey, for he probably held them as a *quid pro quo* for the grant of the churches of his fee in Stamford and Ingoldsby to the abbey sometime between 1066 and 1086.²² Equally, enfeoffment of this kind may have been a function of pre-existing tenurial relationships. The principal of antecessor – the succession to the land of a single individual – on occasion brought one tenant-in-chief into relation with another in 1086. In this case Kolgrimr may have held land from the predecessors of his lords in 1066 and simply continued to do so.²³

In either case, it would seem that Kolgrimr did not benefit greatly from royal grants, if at all. Nevertheless, he evidently served the new regime in some capacity. As far as Domesday records, he only had sake and soke in the manor of Grantham. This fee, situated on St Peter's Hill within the town and probably extending into Houghton, Spitalgate, and Westhorpe, had formerly belonged to Peterborough abbey. Since Kolgrimr was subsequently to grant back the estate, it is likely that he held it as a *beneficium*, that is as loanland, for a life or term of lives.²⁴ Otherwise, his lands were in no way privileged. It would seem that Kolgrimr was not a king's thegn.²⁵ Rather he would appear to have been a local minister. His position in the Lincolnshire folios of Domesday Books hints at such a status. The order in which landholders are listed is finely tuned to reflect status and, significantly, Kolgrimr appears towards the end along with minor royal servants whom Domesday described as *taini regis*. Kolgrimr was not a baron in the same way that Kolsveinn was.

Kolgrimr's office is not explicit in Domesday Book, but it is suggested by an early twelfth-century reference to him. In a Ramsey abbey charter dating from 1115 x 1119 land in Luddington in Huntingdonshire was warranted by a Leofwine, brother

carucate (J. C. Holt, 'The Carta of Richard de la Haye, 1166: a Note on "Continuity" in Anglo-Norman Feudalism', *EHR* 84, 1969, 289–97).

²¹ Roald was probably one of Kolgrimr's men TRE, since TRW he appears as his tenant in Ewerby (GDB, 370; *DB Lincs*, 67, 1). For continuity of this kind in these circumstances, see D. R. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, Woodbridge 2007, 289–90.

²² D. R. Roffe, 'The Early History of Grantham', in *The Making of Grantham: the Medieval Town*, eds D. Start and D. Stocker, Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire, Heckington 2011, 21–38 at 30–1. Kolgrimr's descendants are not known to have held land in the villis.

²³ It should be noted that Karli, who was Kolgrimr's predecessor in Billingborough and Westby, was a man of Ralf the staller in 1066 whom Kolgrimr succeeded in Stoke Rochford, Fulbeck, and Leadenham (GDB, 348, 377, 377v; *DB Lincs*, 12, 52; 55. CK23, 51). The same Karli held in Skillington in 1086, but by 1212 the land had passed to Kolgrimr's descendants (*Book of Fees*, 183). A relationship between Karli and Kolgrimr, then, seems very likely: possibly they were father and son or brothers.

²⁴ Roffe, 'Grantham', 28. For the representation of loanland in Domesday Book, see Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 159–62.

²⁵ To clarify, 'king's thegn' is used of those aristocrats who were 'nigh to the king': they held their lands with sake and soke and were thus subject to no other lord but the king. The *tainus regis* also held directly of the king but was little more than a servant.

of Kolgrimr of Grantham (*Leofwynus frater Colgrini de Grantham*).²⁶ Kolgrimr was in some way associated with the borough of Grantham in Lincolnshire. Toponymics of this kind, of course, might simply identify important local lords in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The lords of manors were regularly named after their principal lordships. However, Kolgrimr was not the lord of Grantham nor was his principal holding situated there: as far as can be gathered from its later history, Ingoldsby was the *caput* of his fee.²⁷ Another explanation for the name, then, suggests itself. In the eleventh century ministers of the crown were often identified by the place of their office rather than their residence. Wigod was named 'of Wallingford', for example, because he was staller there before the Conquest, while sheriffs, both English and Norman, were regularly identified by the county town of the shire for which they were responsible.²⁸ It looks as if Kolgrimr was named 'of Grantham' because of some office that he held there. The manor, borough, and soke were held by Queen Edith in 1066 and there is circumstantial evidence that links Kolgrimr to the administration of the estate: he seems to have granted the church of Sapperton to the abbey of Crowland on the queen's behalf sometime in the early years of the reign of William the Conqueror.²⁹ Kolgrimr can, perhaps, be identified as the queen's reeve.

By the time of the Domesday inquest, Grantham was in the hands of the king. Nevertheless, it is likely that Kolgrimr continued to occupy a position of authority. That authority probably extended beyond the town, for in a writ in favour of Spalding Priory of 1093 x 1098 Kolgrimr is associated with Osbert the sheriff of Lincolnshire in some sort of official capacity: the king ordered the men of Spalding to pay farm and rents to the priory of Spalding and neither Osbern nor Kolgrimr were to interfere until they received further orders.³⁰ Kolgrimr's son and grandson, Osbert and Alexander, are not known to have occupied any significant office in Lincolnshire. His great-grandson Nigel, however, was sheriff 1186–9 and a justice.³¹ The family held their Domesday demesne lands of the Clinton fee and several knight fees of the honour of Richmond. It can be traced into the fourteenth century and beyond.³²

Svartbrandr, whose land is enrolled in the next chapter of Domesday Book along with other thegns, was of similar status to Kolgrimr. He can probably be identified with the Svartbrandr who was a lawman of Lincoln in 1086 in succession to his father Ulf son of Svartbrandr.³³ In 1066 he had held land in Candlesby, Bratoft, Addlethorpe, and Friskney in Lincolnshire, and possibly South Muskham in

²⁶ *Cartularium Monasterii de Ramseia*, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, 3 vols, RS 79, 1884–93, I, 131.

²⁷ *EYC*, V, 255–8. His successors are all called 'of Ingoldsby' and the manor there remained in demesne into the fourteenth century.

²⁸ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Genesis of the Honour of Wallingford', in *The Origins of the Borough of Wallingford: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan and D. R. Roffe, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 494, 2009, 52–67 at 55.

²⁹ GDB, 337v: *DB Lincs*, 1.9; *Abstracts of Final Concords, Lincolnshire*, ed. W. O. Massingberd, London 1896, 231; *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols, Berlin and Göttingen, 1930–52, III, 359; Roffe, 'Grantham', 31.

³⁰ *Regesta*, II, no. 408.

³¹ *EYC*, V, 255–8.

³² *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum Rotulum Pipae, Anno Tricesimo-Primo Regni Henrici Primi*, ed. J. Hunter, RC, 1833, 121; *EYC*, V, 255–8.

³³ John Palmer suggests that Ulf son of Svartbrandr his father was identical with Ulf Fenise, the predecessor of Gilbert de Ghent on the ground that Svartbrandr held in five of the vills in which Ulf also held (Economic and Social Data Service, SN 5694, Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary, 1086, 2nd edn, hereafter *eDB Lincs*, IDs Information, *sn* Svartbrandr). See also C. R. Hart, *The Danelaw*, London 1992, 275–9. The *Ulf de Lincolnia* of the spurious S. 1029 and S. 1060 may be either or neither.

Nottinghamshire.³⁴ He was, though, less successful than Kolgrimr in retaining his lands. By 1086 all the Lincolnshire estates had passed to Ketilbiørn of Keal who was probably a kinsman (see below). But he was not landless. He inherited 4½ carucates in the fields of Lincoln from his father and claimed 140 acres of his land in Canwick.³⁵ He was also lord of the manors of Burton by Lincoln, North and South Carlton, and Metherringham which had been in the possession Eadnoth, Gunnhvati, and Regnvald respectively.

There is no indication that these latter lands had been part of his or his father's fee in 1066. Gunnhvati had forfeited at least some of his estates prior to 1086³⁶ and it would therefore seem that they were newly granted to Svartbrandr. Under what terms is not clear. As a lawman with sake and soke, toll and team, he presumably held in chief (see below). The rural tenements were, however, apparently ministerial. By 1115 probably only Burton by Lincoln was left to him (there is no information on Metherringham at that time, but the fee had disappeared by 1212) and his service had been alienated to William de Rullos.³⁷

Ketilbiørn of Keal³⁸ is the last Englishman noted by name in the list at the beginning of the Lincolnshire folios of Domesday Book, although his lands are enrolled in the chapter entitled *Terra Sortebrand et aliorum tainorum* in the body of the text. He was in possession of Grasby in 1066 and may be the same person who held in association with Gamal in Nettleton and Gamston in Nottinghamshire, and Worsborough in Yorkshire TRW.³⁹ In 1086 he retained Grasby and in addition held most of the lands of Svartbrandr. Various other lands he disputed.⁴⁰ Although it looks as if Ketilbiørn profited from the Conquest, the change in tenure is likely as not to reflect more or less personal arrangements within a single kin. It is a certain Særic who provides a link between Svartbrandr and Ketilbiørn. In South Muskham in Nottinghamshire Svartbrandr was succeeded by a *tainus regis* of that name, while in Lincolnshire Særic⁴¹ was the predecessor of Ketilbiørn in his principal residence in West Keal, and in Theddlethorpe and Sutton in the Marsh. Beyond the entries cited, no common tenurial context has been found for these holdings in the post-Conquest period. Nevertheless, some relationship is clearly indicated. The account of Costock, again in Nottinghamshire, may provide the key to it. There a Særic held the manor TRE with his two brothers.⁴² It can be speculated that those brothers were Svartbrandr and Ketilbiørn.⁴³

In the light of the relationship with Svartbrandr, Ketilbiørn can probably be identified with the man of the same name who had not paid the geld in Lincoln in

³⁴ GDB, 293, 370v: *DB Lincs*, 68,6–11; *DB Notts*, 30,46.

³⁵ GDB, 336, 376: *DB Lincs*, C13; CW1.

³⁶ GDB, 376: *DB Lincs*, CW10.

³⁷ *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, eds C. W. Foster and T. Longley, Lincoln Record Society 19, 1921, LS 3/20.

³⁸ In the electronic edition of the Phillimore text Ketilbiørn is identified as 'of Nettleton', probably arbitrarily because he is associated with that vill the first time he occurs in the Lincolnshire text (*eDB Lincs*, C20 note). He is identified as 'of Keal' in the Lindsey Survey of 1115 (*Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 12/6; 14/8; 15/7) and Keal was subsequently the chief manor of the family (H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, Oxford 2003, 403).

³⁹ GDB, 290, 317, 342; 370v: *DB Lincs*, 4,23; 68,15; *DB Notts*, 16,1–2; *DB: Yorks*, 9W77.

⁴⁰ GDB, 375, 375v: *DB Lincs*, CS17,20,34,37.

⁴¹ Alecto has Sigeric for no obvious reason.

⁴² GDB, 290: *DB Notts*, 15,5.

⁴³ Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 40, suggests that Særic was a brother of Abbot Brand of Peterborough. Note that Særic, probably a citizen of Lincoln, witnessed the re-foundation of Stow St Mary (S. 1478).

1086.⁴⁴ There is no indication, however, that he was, or had ever been, associated with the administration of the city, either as lawman or otherwise. Ketilbiørn's son or grandson Odo owed four falcons to the king in 1130 and it is possible that it was this ministerial service that Ketilbiørn owed.⁴⁵ However, the render seems to have been a relief for inheritance of the fee rather than a regular service. The survival of the family, then, may be as much to do with right to their lands as the office that they held. Ketilbiørn's descendants can be traced into the thirteenth century and beyond.⁴⁶ They probably held in chief until the late twelfth century, for in 1176 Odo's grandchildren were in the custody of the king, but by the early thirteenth their service had been alienated to the barony of Kyme.⁴⁷

The remaining *taini regis* are entered in Domesday Book unheralded and below the salt. Siward the priest was pre-eminent among them, holding more land than Ketilbiørn. Sometime lawman of Lincoln, he had 1 carucate of land in the fields of the city in 1066⁴⁸ and can probably be identified with the Siward who held a manor in Owmbly.⁴⁹ The manor had passed to the bishop of Bayeux by 1086 and was in the tenure of Manasser Arsic in 1115.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it was John de Paris, a citizen of Lincoln, who held the advowson of the church of the manor in the thirteenth century.⁵¹ This may merely be a coincidence, a chance purchase,⁵² but it is more likely that the de Paris family had succeeded to an interest in Lincoln that included the church. Siward the priest would provide the link. In 1086 Wulfnoth the priest was lawman in his place, but, despite a fine of 40s. imposed on his land in Lincoln,⁵³ Siward had gained manors in Winterton, Owersby, Osgodby, Cuxwold, and again Osgodby in succession to Grimbald and Fulcric, Earnwine the priest, Abba, Stenkil, and Sumarlithr.

Siward the priest is not obviously related to any of these individuals and their lands do not appear to have had a pre-Conquest identity apart from being concentrated in a small area of the north riding of Lindsey. Siward, then, probably owed his fee to post-Conquest royal patronage. The services he owed in return are, as always, obscure but he seems to have established a right in some of his estates. Sometime before 1115 Rumfar of Lincoln, apparently his successor and probably a relative, granted Winterton, Osgodby and Usselby (here representing Owersby) to St Mary's of York along with land to the east of the city of Lincoln which became known as the Monks Liberty.⁵⁴ This latter appears to be the carucate held by Siward in 1086. His remaining estates have not been traced.

No other *taini regis* held more than one or two manors apiece. Out of a total of thirty-seven, nine were already in possession of their estates in 1066; it must be supposed, then, that many of the others succeeded to fathers or brothers. Under what terms of service is largely unrecorded, although there must have been a degree

⁴⁴ GDB, 336: *DB Lincs*, C20.

⁴⁵ *Magnum Rotulum*, 113.

⁴⁶ Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, 403.

⁴⁷ *PR 22 Henry II*, 86; *PR 23 Henry II*, 1905, 116; *Book of Fees*, 164, 1056–7.

⁴⁸ GDB, 336: *DB Lincs*, C13.

⁴⁹ GDB, 343: *DB Lincs*, 4,81.

⁵⁰ *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 2/19.

⁵¹ Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 392.

⁵² D. Stocker and P. Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire*, Oxford 2006, 235.

⁵³ GDB, 336v: *DB Lincs*, C14.

⁵⁴ *EYC*, I, 275, 358; Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 339–40.

of continuity from before the Conquest.⁵⁵ Seventeen, just under a half, have not been traced after 1086. Some may well have lost their lands, but forfeiture was not necessarily related to ethnicity. Both *taini regis* and sergeants held by a variety of ministerial services, often at the will of the king, and at their retirement or death their lands were resumed and granted to a new office holder. That was the fate of the Norman as much as the English minister. An unnamed thegn held land in Colsterworth of Queen Edith in 1066 and continued to do so of the king in 1086. By 1130, however, the manor was in the hands of the Tancarville family who held the borough of Grantham where the service was acquitted.⁵⁶ Equally, by 1115 Peter de Valognes had lost land in Burton by Lincoln which he had held in 1086 in succession to Godric son of Eadgifu, sometime lawman of Lincoln.⁵⁷

However, the disappearance of the fees from the record is probably more often a function of the nature of the surviving documentation than of forfeiture. The major sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from which the descent of fees from 1086 is evidenced are largely concerned with knight service.⁵⁸ Sergeancies and tenures akin to them did not render the aids and scutages that knights were obliged to pay and therefore do not appear in the predominantly feudal documentation of the period. English fees in, for example, Austerby, Ouseby, and Creeton could easily be discounted as extinct after 1086 were it not for a handful of incidental thirteenth-century references that indicate that they were alive, if not kicking, 150 years after the Domesday inquest.⁵⁹ Accommodation to feudal services was only ever at best imperfect. It has already been noted how the service of the descendants of Kolgrimr, Svartbrandr and Ketilbiörn was granted out by the king to favoured lords. In no case was actual land transferred, but the terms of tenure were subsequently changed. By the early thirteenth century services were expressed in conventional feudal terms. Thus, Kolgrimr's great-great-grandson Osbert son of Nigel owed scutage to the honour of Clinton. However, the rates were ridiculously small fractions of a fee. Barkston, Welby, and Londonthorpe and Manthorpe were each held for one twenty-fifth of a knight fee, Westby for one nineteenth, Gonerby, Houghton, and Walton for one fiftieth. These apparently anomalous figures are explained by the assessment of the *caput* of the fee. The service due from Ingoldsby was expressed entirely in terms of carucates, but fortuitously in 1242 the 'conversion' factor that should be applied to convert it to knight fees is recorded: Roger de Ingoldsby held thirteen bovates of land in Ingoldsby of the Clinton fee where twenty-five carucates made one knight fee.⁶⁰ The assessments of the Kolgrimr fee in terms of knights are clearly translations of more traditional services based on the geld. The lands were essentially socages.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Godric in Bicker, however, may have been a translator, for he is represented by the Latimer family in the thirteenth century (GDB, 370v: *DB Lincs*, 67,19; *Book of Fees*, 1006).

⁵⁶ *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round, PRO, 1899, 198.

⁵⁷ GDB, 336: *DB Lincs*, C3.

⁵⁸ The Lindsey Survey is a major exception. It was certainly concerned with the geld, but its terms of reference are unknown. It would merit further study.

⁵⁹ Austerby: *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis Asservatorum Abbrevatio*, ed. W. Illingworth, RC, 1811, 59. Ouseby: *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. C. W. Foster and K. Major, 10 vols, Lincoln Record Society 22, 27–9, 32, 34, 41, 46, 51, 62, 67, VII, 27–8. Creeton: *Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham*, ed. F. M. Stenton, Lincoln Record Society 18, 1922, xxx.

⁶⁰ *Book of Fees*, 1031.

⁶¹ This pattern must modify Holt's view ('Carta of Richard de la Haye', 289–97) that the 5-carucate fee

All the smaller fees that can be traced were subject to the same process. By the early thirteenth century almost all of those in Kesteven were, remarkably, in the hands of the descendents of Kolgrimr. Austerby in Bourne, for example, had belonged to Swein in 1086 in succession to Wulfric Wild, but it was held of the honour of Clinton by Osbert son of Nigel by 1212.⁶² At much the same time Osbert also held fees in *Burg*, Ouseby, Little Lavington, Creeton, and Skillington which in 1086 had belonged to Arnketil, Swein, Osfram, Leofric, and Karli rather than Kolgrimr.⁶³ Of those that can be traced in Kesteven, only Colsterworth and Canwick did not accrue to the Ingoldsby fee after 1086. Almost all of these estates were held for the service of small fractions of a knight fee.

There is no such neat pattern apparent in the rest of the county, although the Kolsveinn fee may have occupied a similar role: both the Ulceby and possibly Aisthorpe estates came to Kolsveinn's fee.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the service of all the *taini regis* that can be identified in Lindsey had been alienated by the time of the Lindsey Survey of 1115. It is likely, then, that the Kesteven fees had also been granted to Kolgrimr or his son Osbert in the late eleventh or early twelfth century at a time when they still had a recognizable identity as a group. Continuity of tenure on the ground is often difficult to demonstrate. Wulfgeat's fee in Aisthorpe had been alienated to Earl Robert of Gloucester, the king's bastard son, by 1115, but the mesne tenant was Wulfgeat's relative Robert Hundefot who held most immediately from William Turniant, son of Osbern the sheriff.⁶⁵ The Hundefots remained a local family throughout the twelfth century.⁶⁶ This, though, is an exception. Most families cannot be traced. However, all the fees had subtenants in the thirteenth century and many must be lineal descendents of the Domesday holders.

The grant of the service due from English fees was commonplace, but the fact did not necessarily transfer land. There was, then, apparently no policy of forfeiture in Lincolnshire. English fees were slotted into the burgeoning feudal nexus where appropriate; otherwise fees rendered their traditional dues and their existence remains largely hidden in the feudal documentation. Much the same sort of picture emerges from those Englishmen who held their lands from tenants-in-chief in 1086. How they came to hold in 1086 is generally unclear. Five were in possession of their lands before the Conquest. None of these apparently held with sake and soke and it would thus seem that they were tenants of the predecessors of their lord in 1086. Algar's manors of Casthorpe and Harrowby, for example, were probably in the soke of Æthelstan in 1066.⁶⁷ A further manor in Billingham was held by the sons of the pre-Conquest lord Swein. Otherwise, there is no indication of a relationship between the English tenant in 1086 and the holder of the land in 1066. Some must represent

of the de la Haye honour was a species of 'mental continuity' only. For comparable evidence from the North, see D. R. Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book*, Oxford 2000, 43.

⁶² *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols, PRO, 1903–27, IV, 30.

⁶³ *Burg: Book of Fees*, 180; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 826a; *Abstracts of Final Concords*, ed. W. O. Massingberd, London 1896, 303; D. R. Roffe, 'The Lost Settlement of *Burg* Refound?', <http://www.roffe.co.uk/burg.htm>, accessed 02/05/2010. Ouseby: *Registrum Antiquissimum*, VII, 27–8; Little Lavington: *Book of Fees*, 183. Creeton: *Gilbertine Charters*, xxx. Skillington: *Book of Fees*, 183.

⁶⁴ *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 3/4; 11/16.

⁶⁵ *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 3/18.

⁶⁶ Ulviet Hundefot occurs in the Pipe Rolls of the early 1160s and Humphrey Hundefot and his father Turolde were mentioned in a mid-twelfth-century charter for the abbey of Bardney as tenants at Winceby (London, BL, MS Cotton Vesp. E. xx, fol. 117v).

⁶⁷ Æthelstan son of Godram held with sake and soke, toll and team, and was Guy de Craon's Lincolnshire predecessor (GDB, 337, 377v; *DB Lincs*, T5; CK66).

substitute tenants: Asfrith, for example, was in the place of Hereward 'the Wake' who held of Peterborough abbey in Witham-on-the-Hill before his outlawry in c. 1070.⁶⁸ Others could be sons or other relations, but some must have been unrelated to their predecessors: they may have benefited from the Conquest just as many of the *tainī regis* had.

Domesday Book is silent with regard to the services they owed, as, of course, it is with those of almost all holders of land.⁶⁹ That they might occupy roles within the household of their lord is indicated by the descent of two fees. Godwine, who held a manor in Haceby of Guy de Craon, may have been a chamberlain, for the estate was held by Henry the chamberlain of the honour in the thirteenth century.⁷⁰ Likewise, the unnamed Englishman who held of Robert de Vesey in Caythorpe was probably an interpreter, for his successors in the fee were surnamed Latimer.⁷¹ Some Englishmen evidently held what were effectively *beneficia* granted after the Conquest. Kolgrimr's manors in Dowdyke and Algarkirk which were held of the abbey of Crowland have already been noticed. The twelve manors held by Kolsveinn of eight different tenants-in-chief were probably also of this status. The grant of only one is documented: the abbot of Peterborough gave Kolsveinn half a carucate of land in Riseholme 'for the service of attending the abbot's pleas and looking after the affairs of the abbot and his men in the shire and other places'.⁷² Of the remaining eleven, four were subsequently to be held in chief by his successors,⁷³ and at least two remained subtenancies.⁷⁴ However, there are no obvious links with Kolsveinn's predecessors and it seems likely that he was similarly granted the lands after the Conquest by the tenants-in-chief to enlist his support in the county. Nothing has come to light to indicate the terms of tenure for the remaining English tenants.

Most of the tenancies of Kolsveinn and Kolgrimr can be readily traced into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The same can be claimed for only a further three of the Englishmen who were men of tenants-in-chief in 1086. Algar, who held the manors of Casthorpe and Harrowby of Guy de Craon, was succeeded by a son or grandson Hugh son of Algar; a Thomas son of Algar occurs in the second half of the twelfth century, and Hugh de Casthorpe held the manors in the early thirteenth.⁷⁵ The family of Conded, who held of Kolsveinn in Heckington in 1086, has not been found in twelfth-century sources, but must be represented by the Thomas *Anglicus*, 'the Englishman', who held the fee in the thirteenth century of the honour of Ghent for the service of one twentieth of a knight fee.⁷⁶ His family continued to hold the

⁶⁸ D. R. Roffe, 'Hereward "the Wake" and the Barony of Bourne: a Reassessment of a Fenland Legend', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 29, 1994, 7–10.

⁶⁹ For the role of service in the Domesday inquest and Domesday Book, see Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 176–82, 183–5, 310–11.

⁷⁰ *Book of Fees*, 1030.

⁷¹ *Book of Fees*, 1086. Perhaps significantly, William le Latimer held a number of parcels of land in most of the manors of the Lincolnshire honour for a combination of knight service and cash.

⁷² E. King, 'The Peterborough "Descriptio Militum" Henry I', *EHR* 84, 1969, 84–101 at 100, no 46.

⁷³ Barlings, Ingleby, Riseholm, Normanby and Owmbly: *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 2/11; 3/4.

⁷⁴ Riseholme, Newton: *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 3/19; 7/11. Snarford, Evedon, Claxby and Normanby reverted to the tenants-in-chief; the remaining fees have not been traced.

⁷⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols, RS 99, 1896, 384–5; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 337; *Book of Fees*, 185, 1034.

⁷⁶ *Book of Fees*, 179, 1033.

manor into the mid fourteenth century.⁷⁷ Finally, the Hakon who held a manor in Hainton had been succeeded by his son William by 1115.⁷⁸

No such evidence has been found for the other families. Some undoubtedly did lose their lands. The bishop of Durham resumed tenure of the manor of Snarford and by 1115 it was held by Goslin the dapifer of Durham;⁷⁹ Stapleford, held by Thor in 1086, was acquired by Kolgrimr's successors and was held of the Clinton fee by the thirteenth century.⁸⁰ Likewise, Swein's manor in Casthorpe subsequently accrued to the de la Haye fee.⁸¹ Continuity of tenure in others, though, is not thereby precluded. English families very quickly adopted Norman naming patterns after the Conquest and, given the paucity of early twelfth-century evidence, it is therefore exceptionally difficult to link the Domesday generation with subsequent ones. Fees, by contrast, are somewhat more easily traced and their patterns of tenure often suggest continuity. For example, the Geoffrey son of Josceus of Bourne who held a third of a knight fee of Peter of Goxhill within the honour of Bayeux cannot be linked with the Doding who held the manor in 1086. However, the fact that he also held the manor of Thurlby, likewise formerly held by Doding, strongly suggests a connection.⁸² Above all, the assessment of fees held by Englishmen in 1086 are time after time small fractions of knight fees. The survival of socage tenures in Lincolnshire was clearly far more widespread than has hitherto been appreciated.

If more English families established themselves than is at first apparent, then it remains true that the land they held was only a small proportion of that described in Domesday Book. The 80 or so Englishmen held only 301 carucates, that is 7.1% of a total of 4218 carucates in the whole of Lincolnshire. To what extent this figure represents the reality of 1086 is debateable. Hugh Thomas has accepted that Domesday Book does not generally record subtenancies, that is sub-manorial holdings, and that the English survivals at that level were probably considerable. However, he has maintained that the named individuals of the text are a fair measure of holders of manors.⁸³ This assumes a greater transparency in Domesday data than is perhaps warranted. With the exception of Kolsveinn, all of the Lincolnshire Englishmen held directly of the king as *taini regis* or of tenants-in-chief and Domesday Book has been shown to be remarkably fickle in its recording of such people. Independent evidence, where it survives, frequently attests the existence of tenants where Domesday Book indicates none. It would seem that the commissioners were interested in only the principal tenants of each lord. Domesday Book provides less a record of tenancy *per se* than of the honourial baronage.⁸⁴ It makes more sense, then, to compare the land of the English not with the total amount of land in Lincolnshire but only with that portion that was recorded as enfeoffed. Excluding the land that Kolsveinn held in demesne as a tenant-in-chief, there were 106 carucates of English land which amounts to 14.2% of that total of 1453 carucates.

⁷⁷ Thomas Angel [sic] was holding in 1346; by 1370 the manor was in the hands of Henry Asty and Margaret de Patteshull: *Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids; with Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office AD 1284–1431*, 6 volumes, PRO, 1899–1920, III, 194; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, XII, 291–2.

⁷⁸ *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 16/15. Brother Ralf and Richard are also found.

⁷⁹ *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, LS 3/10.

⁸⁰ *Book of Fees*, 1046.

⁸¹ *Book of Fees*, 1034.

⁸² *Book Of Fees*, 1026, 1051.

⁸³ Thomas, 'Native English Landholders', 323–6.

⁸⁴ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 163–5.

That figure provides a better measure of the English in Domesday Book in its own terms. What it still does not do is tell us the number of Englishmen who held manors in 1086. Just as many Normans are not recorded, so many more must be hidden in what is entered as both demesne and enfeoffed land in 1086. By their very nature examples are elusive. Later tenurial structures, however, can again often be suggestive in this connection. The twelfth- and thirteenth-century feodaries present Lincolnshire as a more or less fully feudalized society. Nevertheless, from time to time more ancient structures come to light within its interstices. The vill of Heckington provides a good example. Much of the settlement was in the demesne of the honour of Ghent from 1086 into the thirteenth century and yet within this fee was a substantial estate centred on the hamlet of Winkhill. Sometime before 1185 it had been granted by Gilbert de Ghent to the Templars.⁸⁵ This, though, in a transaction that is becoming more familiar, was simply an alienation of service: Winkhill was in the possession of a certain William. Most of the detailed documentation for the subsequent history of the estate is of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when it became the nucleus of a manor held by a yeoman family on the rise.⁸⁶ What is significant to its earlier history is that Winkhill was held by socage: in its essentials the tenement looks old. There is, of course, no evidence that William, its earliest known tenant, was of English descent, but it is in just such estates that continuity might be expected.

Examples of substantial socages of this kind could be multiplied.⁸⁷ Winkhill is exceptional only in so far as the services due to the chief lord were never feudalized.⁸⁸ Other socages are probably represented by the many fees that were assessed at small fractions of a knight in the thirteenth century. Where they are mentioned at all, such tenancies are represented in the Lincolnshire Domesday by tenants on the demesne or sokeland. As such, they have usually been categorized by historians as sub-manorial tenants.⁸⁹ Like much else, however, our view of them is muddled by the procedures of the Domesday inquest and the compilation of Domesday Book. Service was a central concern of the Domesday enterprise and the number of manors held by each tenant-in-chief was its measure for the purposes of the inquest (knight service was not part of the equation at this point). So much for theory: practice was another matter. Initially, the Domesday scribe classified just about all free holdings as manors and accordingly recorded their holders in 1066. There were more manors *pro rata* in the Yorkshire folios where he started his work than in any other county. There are also many more Englishmen in 1086. By the time he came to the Lincolnshire folios the scribe had changed his taxonomy. Freeholdings were entered as sokeland and in consequence fewer individuals are named.⁹⁰

The distinction between the manor with a named holder TRE and sokeland without is, then, a procedural artefact. Both named and unnamed sokemen are regularly shown to have had their own men and the Lincolnshire *clamores* occasionally

⁸⁵ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. A. Lees, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 9, British Academy, 1935, 88.

⁸⁶ A book of notes by H. T. Sumners on the manor of Winkell or Winkhill in Heckington, Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, LLHS 38/3/8, c1910–1928; D. R. Roffe, 'Heckington: Winkhill', <http://www.roffe.co.uk/earthworks/moats/heckington.htm>, accessed 02/05/2010.

⁸⁷ D. R. Roffe, R. H. Healey, and V. Ancliffe, *The Medieval Earthworks of South Lincolnshire*, at <http://www.roffe.co.uk/earthworksframe.htm>, accessed 18/05/2010.

⁸⁸ The early grant in alms was probably responsible.

⁸⁹ Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors'.

⁹⁰ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 176–82.

reveal tenants who are not mentioned in the body of the Domesday text. Ælfstan of Frampton, for example, was a man of Guy de Craon, and probably held Frampton itself, but does not occur in the account of the manor.⁹¹ Individuals of this kind were clearly of lower status than the honourial barony that pre-occupied the GDB scribe, but nevertheless they look very like lords of manors.

Both Domesday Book and later documentation, then, conspire to conceal the extent of English tenures in the countryside. The boroughs probably provide a much more accurate window on survival, simply because knight service does not intrude. In Lincoln there were ten lawmen, out of a total of twelve, who were Englishmen in 1086. Two had held in 1066 and the remainder were either sons or close relatives. They held with sake and soke (and in one instance additionally with toll and team) and, on that ground, Stenton was of the opinion that they were only a group of privileged burgesses in 1086.⁹² It seems likely, however, that they held important offices in the city. As far as can be seen from the Domesday record, the lands of most were indeed confined to the city, but not all. Svartbrandr and Siward the priest have already been noticed. Both were *taini regis* who served the king in some capacity. Aghmund was of similar importance. He may be identical with the Aghmund who was a moneyer in the early years of the reign of William the Conqueror.⁹³ He had held an extensive fee in Lincolnshire which had passed to Joscelin son of Lambert by 1086. In stark contrast to Svartbrandr and Siward, he was left with only a single manor in Canwick that had belonged to his father Wælhraefn. The fee is represented by the half carucate of land held in chief by Robert son of Outi in the thirteenth century.⁹⁴

Although some of their lands can be traced into the twelfth century and beyond (see above), there is no convincing sign of an office of lawman in the later Middle Ages.⁹⁵ In Stamford, however, where there were also twelve lawmen (reduced to nine by 1086), *lagemanni* were still identifiable as late as 1275.⁹⁶ By then their function was unknown: one Ragman jury thought that they held by the sergeancy of accompanying the king while in Wales, another said that their ancestors had judged the law in ancient times but they did not know by what service they held and could only refer the justices to Domesday Book for an explanation. It seems likely, though, that they were represented by at least some of the burgesses who held their own courts and that they were the successors of the twelve coroners who kept the king's pleas in Stamford and executed attachments in the early thirteenth

⁹¹ GDB, 367v: *DB Lincs*, 57,28. There is little in its later history to suggest that Frampton was held in demesne. Ælfstan of Frampton has been identified with Æthelstan, the predecessor of Guy de Craon, but this seems to do violence to the passage in the *clamores* cited in support: were Æthelstan in court, the entry is a nonsense (*eDB Lincs*, Identifications, *sn* Aethelstan son of Godram). Ælfstan of Frampton is more likely to have been a man of Æthelstan.

⁹² *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, xxix.

⁹³ Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds: Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/>, accessed 07/05/2010).

⁹⁴ *Book Of Fees*, 171, 1041.

⁹⁵ The 'Provisions for the Government of the City' of c. 1300 notice twelve judges under the mayor, but they were elected and 'shall be assessed to the public taxes and dues, and to all royal customs with other citizens of the said city' (Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 402). The reference seems to be to the Corporation's council.

⁹⁶ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. W. Illingworth, 2 vols, RC, 1812–18, I, 352b, 354a; *Stamford in the Thirteenth Century: Two Inquisitions from the Reign of Edward I*, ed. and trans. D. R. Roffe, Stamford 1994, A21, B3.

century.⁹⁷ None of the Stamford lawmen are identified in Domesday Book, but it is clear from the text that they held extensive properties in the town.⁹⁸ In both Lincoln and Stamford the lawmen were evidently members of urban patriciates that were largely untouched by the Conquest.⁹⁹

So too were the moneyers of Lincoln, Stamford, and Torksey. They are known only from the coins that they produced, but, typically holding with sake and soke, they were almost certainly of similar status to the lawmen.¹⁰⁰ They remained English (as evidenced by their names) well into the twelfth century and presumably continued to hold whatever land they had possessed in 1066.¹⁰¹ Unless they had drawn attention to themselves by withholding customs and rents, the remaining burgesses of the boroughs were simply enumerated in Domesday Book. The scribe's main concern was the properties that belonged to tenants-in-chief. Both Lincoln and Stamford look as if they are dominated by Norman lords. In reality, only Kolsveinn and Alfred of Lincoln, the one English and the other with English antecedents, held substantial urban fees, both in Lincoln.¹⁰² Seigneurial properties were attached to rural manors and in 1086 were no more than sources of cash. The burgesses who held them are unrecorded in Domesday Book, but the obligations of their descendents to their lord amounted to little more than quitrents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The English survivors are far more visible in the boroughs. Moreover, they were regularly of higher status. Holding with sake and soke, all the lawmen had been king's thegns in 1066 and were tenants-in-chief in 1086.¹⁰³ The sokemen of Stamford who could 'seek lords where they would' were only of slightly lower status.¹⁰⁴ It was the aims of the Domesday inquest and the purpose of Domesday Book that conspire to conceal their peers in the countryside. There remains no doubt, of course, that the Norman Conquest saw a tenurial revolution in Lincolnshire as elsewhere. The aristocracy – the earls, stallers, and king's thegns of the county – had almost to a man lost their lands by 1086. It is the survival of the social class below this aristocracy, the median thegns and the ministers, that is at issue. The record of Domesday Book seems to indicate an all-but complete wipe-out of this class too: a myriad of lords in 1066 is replaced by a handful of tenants-in-chief and their men in 1086. In reality, the stark contrast is misleading, for the juxtaposition of TRE and TRW data does not always compare like with like. The commissioners demanded names for the holders of land TRE and they were listed regardless of status and

⁹⁷ *A Lincolnshire Assize Roll 1218–19*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Selden Society 53, 1934, no. 864; *Stamford in the Thirteenth Century*, 30.

⁹⁸ Hugh Musard, the tenant of Countess Judith in Sproxton (Leics), appropriated two tenements belonging to the lawmen. The land may be represented by that held by King David in 1212 (*Book of Fees*, 189–90). In this context, it is tempting to equate the 14 messuages held by one of the lawmen with the 14 that had belonged to Edward cild and had passed to Countess Judith by 1086. However, the text explicitly states that the lawmen still held at that time.

⁹⁹ D. Keene, 'Towns and the Growth of Trade', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: c. 1024–c. 1198*, IV part 1, ed. D. E. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, Cambridge 2004, 78.

¹⁰⁰ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 121–2.

¹⁰¹ Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds.

¹⁰² Alfred of Lincoln's land, subsequently known as the manor of Hungate and then Beaumont Fee, was a substantial estate in the west of the Lower City (Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 50). Peterborough abbey's tenure of Stamford Baron in Northamptonshire was more akin to a liberty than an estate (GDB, 336v: *DB Lincs*, S1). It had its origins in the grant of the Soke of Peterborough on the re-foundation of the monastery in the late tenth century.

¹⁰³ In Stamford the lawmen held their own courts in chief of the king in 1212 and 1275 (*Book of Fees*, 195–7; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, 352b, 354a).

¹⁰⁴ GDB, 336v: *DB Lincs*, S4.

usually without qualification. Lordship was more precisely articulated in 1086: it was tenants-in-chief and their honourial barons rather than tenants of the soil that commanded attention.

Outside the boroughs, the median thegns and their successors are largely hidden in 1086. The socages that they held might subsequently be assessed to knight service, or more usually the scutage that was due from it. But it was not always so and they were the more valuable for that, as the lively land market in post-Conquest Lincolnshire amply illustrates.¹⁰⁵ Socage tenure was prized from at least the twelfth century precisely because it was free from feudal dues. The tenure was the nearest that English landholding law came to freehold in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ It was their very freedom that hides the survival of English forms of tenure in Lincolnshire and, in many cases it must be suspected, the English families that held them.

Just how unusual was Lincolnshire in this respect? Its social structure was in many ways decidedly Northern Danelaw. It is thus perhaps not surprising that the level of survival of English tenures, as reconstructed here, should appear to be more in line with that of Yorkshire.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere English survivors have been characterized as sub-manorial tenants. The English jurors of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, for example, are noticeable by their absence from the Domesday text and it has been assumed that they must therefore have held from the lords who are named therein.¹⁰⁸ The Lincolnshire evidence, however, might suggest that they too were of higher status. Their holdings were, no doubt, incorporated into Domesday manors which were no less artificial than their Lincolnshire counterparts,¹⁰⁹ but otherwise they might be free to hold their lands. Many of the smaller Cambridgeshire manors of the later Middle Ages must have had origins in such tenures.

The early twelfth-century fraternity list of Rochester Cathedral preserved in the *Textus Roffensis* provides the best documentation for the survival of Englishmen in this way. Domesday Book records Norman tenants in 1086 in several Kentish villis, but the early twelfth-century source reveals that the land was actually held by Englishmen, often the TRE holders of the Domesday text or their successors.¹¹⁰ Some were to attain knightly status, most did not. However, the point here is that their status apparently did not change substantially between 1066 and subsequently. None were king's thegns before the Conquest and none were honourial barons at the time of the Domesday inquest. They were, nevertheless, the effective lords of the soil.

How common was this phenomenon elsewhere remains to be seen. What is certainly clear is that the factors which obscured English tenures and families in Lincolnshire are found more widely. Like Kolsveinn, Edward of Salisbury, who held his lands from the king in chief, managed to establish his family and by the mid twelfth century his grandson Patrick had been created earl of Salisbury (although

¹⁰⁵ F. M. Stenton, *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford 1969.

¹⁰⁶ C. A. Joy, 'Sokeright', unpublished MA thesis, University of Leeds, 1971, 375–417. After the abolition of feudal tenures in 1660, socage tenure became the basis of all estates and freeholds.

¹⁰⁷ By my estimation, native tenants in Yorkshire represent 32% of all tenants, 213 out of a total of 674, holding slightly less than that proportion of the land.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis, 'Domesday Jurors,' 17–44.

¹⁰⁹ J. J. N. Palmer, 'The Domesday Manor', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 139–54; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 176–82.

¹¹⁰ H. Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *ANS* 14, 1992, 313–37.

with few of his grandfather's lands).¹¹¹ He, however, was the exception. Thorkil of Arden held in chief in 1086 but the service from his fee was granted to the earl of Warwick sometime after 1088.¹¹² Gospatric son of Arnkell, who held an extensive fee in Yorkshire, was probably a minister like Kolgrimr and the service of much of his fee was granted to Robert de Stutteville.¹¹³ The fees of just about every Englishman who held directly of the king in 1086 were subsequently subject to Norman lords in a similar way.¹¹⁴ However, the transfer of service did not usually lead to a change of tenure: the successors of the Domesday lords continued to have rights to their lands as mesne tenants.

Inevitably, such tenants are more difficult to trace than tenants-in-chief and the more so where they continued to hold their lands by socage of one kind or another. The failure to do so does not point to a policy of forfeiture. A better case might be made for a process of integration. That many English tenures do not seem to have been originally assessed to knight service suggests that they stood apart from the process of assessment that was probably one of the outcomes of the meeting at Salisbury, the culmination of the Domesday enterprise, of August 1086.¹¹⁵ Their services were already adequately defined as ministers or rent-payers. Subsequently, by contrast, the crown seems to have systematically dispensed with them. The grant of almost all the English fees of Kesteven to Kolgrimr looks particularly purposeful in this respect. Equally, however, the phenomenon may merely be a function of the normal processes of royal patronage. At any rate, it was not confined to English families. Normans, like Osbern de Arches, suffered a similar fate.¹¹⁶ The alienation of service was simply cheaper than the alienation of land.

Neither tenants-in-chief nor the honoural barony had full rights to land in 1086.¹¹⁷ Lordship might confer a demesne (although it did not invariably do so), but otherwise it consisted in dues from freely held land. Even the humble villein, it would seem, was a free man in 1086. It had ever been so. Before the Conquest the grant of bookland had transferred royal farm to individuals in return for personal service. Much of the Norman settlement was founded in succession to such rights and the reciprocal relationship of service that they implied. In the twelfth century, it is worth noticing, tenure in barony was expressed in terms of sake and soke and the 'highness' to the king that the liberty implied. Its terms of reference were English. Knight service slotted comfortably into this society of service and, like bookland, it was an important medium of royal patronage. However, it was never identical with, nor a substitute for, the right to land. By the mid twelfth century, the feudal nexus had become just another impost and the medium of patronage moved on.¹¹⁸ It may even

¹¹¹ Sanders, *English Baronies*, 112.

¹¹² A. Williams, 'A Vice-Comital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS* 11, 1989, 279–95.

¹¹³ *EYC*, I, 384–90.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, 'Native English Landholders', 326–8.

¹¹⁵ J. C. Holt, '1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 41–64, revised in J. C. Holt, *Colonial England, 1066–1215*, London 1997, 31–57; Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 176–209, 309–10.

¹¹⁶ *EYC*, I, 413–14 and n.534; *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191*, ed. D. E. Greenway, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series 1, British Academy, 1972, 359 and n.

¹¹⁷ For the following, see Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 144–82.

¹¹⁸ D. Crouch, D. A. Carpenter, and P. R. Coss, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revisited', *Past & Present* 131, 1991, 165–203; D. A. Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', *Past & Present* 168, 2000, 30–7.

have been in decline in 1086.¹¹⁹ Land and the rents due from it came to the fore.¹²⁰ It was then that English tenures and, perhaps, English families ceased to be hidden and emerge in the light of record as local gentry like their Norman neighbours.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ See E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England*, Leicester 1964, 159–60, who argues that ‘feudalism’ was already bastard in the early eleventh century: that’s what Danegeld was all about.

¹²⁰ S. Reynolds, ‘Bookland, Folkland and Fief’, *ANS* 14, 1991, 211–27.

¹²¹ For the later history of socage tenure, see Joy, ‘Sokeright’, 375–417.

Appendix: the Englishmen of the Lincolnshire Domesday and their lands

Kolsveinn					
Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
356v:26,1	Brattleby	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Ketil	3
356v:26,2	Riseholme	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Leofsi	1
356v:26,3	Faldingworth	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Esbiorn	0.5
356v:26,4	Scothern, Holme, Sudbrooke	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Thorulf	3.63
356v:26,5	Scothern, Holme, Sudbrooke	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Godric	0.56
356v:26,6	Scothern, Holme, Sudbrooke	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Abbey of Peterborough	1.00
356v:26,7	Barlings	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Cola	0.75
356v:26,8	Barlings	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Asgot	0.75
356v:26,9	Reephram	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Asgot	0.75
356v:26,10	Cammeringham	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Alnoth, Cnut, Esbiorn, Ulfkil	4.50
356v:26,11	Ingham	Ansketil, Roger	Kolsveinn	Frani, Sumarlithi	1.00
356v:26,12	Coates	Ansketil, Roger	Kolsveinn	Frani, Sumarlithi	0.25
356v:26,13	Friesthorpe	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	—	3.00
356v:26,14	Hanworth, Cold	Tuold the priest	Kolsveinn	Frani	0.75
356v:26,15	Hackthorn	Tuold the priest	Kolsveinn	Frani	0.41
357:26,16	Hackthorn	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Cnut	0.38
357:26,17	Scawby, Sturton	Alfred	Kolsveinn	Thorulf	1.38
357:26,18	Redbourne	Alfred	Kolsveinn	Thorulf	0.35
357:26,19	Hibaldstow	Alfred	Kolsveinn	Thorulf	0.08
357:26,20	Carlton, South, Riseholme	Matthew	Kolsveinn	Alsi	0.5
357:26,21	Cockerington, North and South	Matthew	Kolsveinn	Alnoth	0.13
357:26,22	Kexby	Adeelm	Kolsveinn	Eskil	3.44
357:26,23	Fillingham	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Alnoth, Alnoth, Eskil, Frani, Godric	7.13
357:26,24	Faldingworth	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	—	2.00
357:26,25	Spridlington	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Everard and brothers	2.68
357:26,26	Austhorpe	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Edeva	3.63
357:26,27	Heckington	Conded	Kolsveinn	Algar, Thorkil	1.75
357:26,28	Helpingham	Conded	Kolsveinn	Thorkil, Algar	0.25
357:26,29	Howell	Conded	Kolsveinn	Thorkil	0.31
357:26,30	Laythorpe	Conded, Ansketil	Kolsveinn	Thor, Eskil	5.25
357:26,31	Doddington, Dry	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Auti	0.75
357:26,32	Doddington, Dry	Walter	Kolsveinn	Alsi	0.75
357:26,33	Marston	Walter	Kolsveinn	Alsi	2.25
357:26,34	Hougham	Walter	Kolsveinn	Alsi	2.00
357:26,35	Hougham	William	Kolsveinn	Azur	2.00
357:26,36	Billingborough	Brunel	Kolsveinn	Swein	2.88
357:26,37	Ouseby	Brunel	Kolsveinn	Alsi	2.19
357:26,38	Pointon	Conded	Kolsveinn	Alsi	0.50
357:26,39	Spanby	Brunel	Kolsveinn	Alsi	2.00
357:26,40	Newton	Ralf	Kolsveinn	Thorkil, Godwine	1.25
357:26,41	Ouseby	Ralf	Kolsveinn	Thorkil, Godwine	0.80
357:26,42	Threkingham	Ralf	Kolsveinn	Thorkil, Godwine	1.80
357:26,43	Dembleby	Rainald	Kolsveinn	Gunnketill	1.00
357v:26,44	Swaton	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Auti	7.00
357v:26,45	Swaton	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Alsi, Æthelstan	1.00
357v:26,46	Horbling	Matthew	Kolsveinn	Swein	3.25
357v:26,47	Aisby	William	Kolsveinn	Aslak	3.00

357v:26,48	Burton Coggles, Bitchfield	William	Kolsveinn	Leodfled	0.75
357v:26,49	Ashby-de-la-Launde	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Auti, Eskil	3.50
357v:26,50	Kyme, North	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Auti	5.25
357v:26,51	Westby	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	—	1.25
357v:26,52	Evedon	Kolsveinn	Kolsveinn	Earl Morcar	2.00
357v:26,53	Pickworth	William, a sokeman	Kolsveinn	Auti	2.00
357v:26,54	Pickworth	William	Kolsveinn	Auti	0.31
340v:3,1	Brattleby	Kolsveinn	Bishop of Durham	Stepiot	0.63
340v:3,2	Snarford	Kolsveinn	Bishop of Durham	Siward	2.25
340v:3,3	Barlings	Kolsveinn	Bishop of Durham	Dane	1.13
341:3,36	Evedon	Kolsveinn	Bishop of Durham	Turvert	2.50
345v:8,13	Risesholme	Kolsveinn	Abbot of Peterborough	Eadnoth	0.50
349v:13,26	Bullington	Kolsveinn	Earl of Chester	Lambecarl	0.44
354v:24,2	Risesholme	Kolsveinn	Gilbert de Ghent		1.50
342:4,2	Ingleby	Kolsveinn	Bishop of Bayeux	Chetel, Ulchil	1.88
359:28,3	Normanby, Owmbly	Kolsveinn	Joscelin son of Lambert	Aghmund	0.50
360v:30,36	Claxby, Normanby	Kolsveinn	Drogo de la Beuvriere	Ulf	0.75
364:40,2	Ingham	Kolsveinn	Rainer de Brimou	Jalf	0.50
364:40,3	Newton	Kolsveinn	Rainer de Brimou		0.38

Kolgrimr

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
370:67,7	Ingoldsby	Kolgrimr	The king	Kolgrimr	1.08
370v:67,13	Belton	Kolgrimr	The king	Roald	2.50
370v:67,14	Towthorpe	Kolgrimr	The king	Roald	0.75
370v:67,15	Barkston	Kolgrimr	The king	Roald	0.75
370v:67,16	Barkston	Kolgrimr	The king	Roald	1.00
370v:67,17	Londonthorpe	Kolgrimr	The king	Roald	0.75
370v:67,24	Gonerby	Kolgrimr	The king	Kolgrimr	0.50
370v:67,25	Swinderby	Kolgrimr	The king	Kolgrimr	1.00
370v:67,26	Canwick	Kolgrimr	The king	Aghmund	1.00
370v:67,27	Canwick	Kolgrimr	The king	Cwenthryth the nun	0.50
371:68,19	Westby	Kolgrimr	The king	Toki	1.00
337v:1,9	Grantham	Kolgrimr	Peterborough abbey	Peterborough abbey	
345v:8,12	Houghton	Kolgrimr	Peterborough abbey		0.50
346v:11,5	Dowdyke	Kolgrimr	Crowland abbey	Crowland	2.00
346v:11,6	Drayton	Kolgrimr	Crowland abbey	Crowland	1.00
346v:11,7	Algarkirk	Kolgrimr	Crowland abbey	Crowland	1.50
346v:11,8	Burtoft	Kolgrimr	Crowland abbey	Crowland	0.13

347v:12,48	Fulbeck, Leadenham	Kolgrimr	Count Alan	Ralf the staller	2.88
348:12,52	Westby	Kolgrimr	Count Alan	Karli	0.75
348:12,55	Billingborough	Kolgrimr	Count Alan	Karli	1.00
348v:12,91	Stoke Rochford	Kolgrimr	Count Alan	Ralf the staller	3.00
348v:12,92	Hykeham, North	Kolgrimr	Count Alan	Siward	4.00
360v:30,25	Stoke Rochford	Kolgrimr	Drogo de la Beuvriere	Morcar	1.50
360v:30,26	Stoke, North	Kolgrimr	Drogo de la Beuvriere	Morcar, Earl	1.25
360v:30,32	Witham on the Hill	Kolgrimr	Drogo de la Beuvriere	Ulf	0.63
366:48,13	Willoughby, Silk	Kolgrimr	Odo the crossbowman	Regnvald	0.25
368v:59, 18	Skinmand	Kolgrimr	Robert of Stafford	Uluue	3.00

Svartbrandr

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
370v:68,1	Burton	Svartbrandr	The king	Alnoth	3.00
370v:68,2	Carlton, South	Svartbrandr	The king	Gunnhvati	6.00
370v:68,3	Carlton, North	Svartbrandr	The king	Gunnhvati	1.00
370v:68,4	Metheringham	Svartbrandr	The king	Regnvald	5.50

Ketilbiörn

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
370v:68,5	Keal, West	Ketilbiörn	The king	Særic	1.50
370v:68,6	Coningsby	Ketilbiörn	The king	Særic	0.13
370v:68,7	Ashby, West	Ketilbiörn	The king	Særic	
370v:68,8	Candlesby	Ketilbiörn	The king	Svartbrandr	0.50
370v:68,9	Bratoft	Ketilbiörn	The king	Svartbrandr	0.25
370v:68,10	Addlethorpe	Ketilbiörn	The king	Svartbrandr	0.25
370v:68,11	Friskney	Ketilbiörn	The king	Svartbrandr	0.25
370v:68,12	Theddlethorpe	Ketilbiörn	The king	Særic	0.38
370v:68,13	Sutton-in-the-Marsh	Ketilbiörn	The king	Særic	0.69
370v:68,14	Sutton-in-the-Marsh	Ketilbiörn	The king	Siward	0.13
370v:68,15	Grasby	Ketilbiörn	The king	Ketilbiörn	0.50

Siward the priest

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
371:68,43	Osgodby	Siward the priest	The king	Abba	0.31
371:68,44	Cuxwold	Siward the priest	The king	Stenkil	0.75
371:68,38	Winterton	Siward the priest	The king	Grimbald, Fulcric	1.38
371:68,42	Owersby	Siward the priest	The king	Earnwine the priest	0.50
371:68,46	Osgodby	Siward the priest	The king	Sumarlithi	0.13

Other taini Regis

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
371v:68,47	Riseholme	Aghmund the priest	The king	Aghmund the priest	0.50
371:68,20	Lobthorpe	Algar	The king	Algar	1.00
370:67,5	Burg	Arnketil	The king	Arnketil	0.81
370:67,6	Heckington	Arnketil	The king	Arnketil	0.31
371:68,26	Burg	Arnketil	The king	—	0.63
371:68,33	Hibaldstow	Auti	The king	Brunier	0.25
371:68,18	Corby Glen	Bricteva	The king	Bricteva	1.00

371:68,35	Waddingham	Elfain	The king	Godric the deacon	0.38
371:68,36	Waddingham	Elfain	The king	Godric the deacon	0.25
371:68,37	Yaddletorpe	Englishman	The king	Ketil	1.00
371:68,30	Ingham	Earnwine the priest	The king	Swein	0.25
371:68,25	Witham, South	Earnwine the priest	The king	—	0.75
370:67,8	Ingoldsby	Eskil	The king	Ingulf	0.50
371:68,31	Fillingham	Eskil	The king	Godric the deacon	0.25
370v:67,20	Houghton	Fredegis	The king	Kolgrimr	1.75
370v:67,18	Drayton	Godric	The king	Withar	0.50
370v:67,19	Bicker	Godric	The king	Withar	1.00
371:68,45	Beelsby	Godric son of Aghmund	The king	Aghmund father of Godric	0.50
371:68,32	Cleatham	Healfdene	The king	Arnketil	0.75
371:68,34	Waddingham	Healfdene	The king	Arnketil	0.25
371:68,28	Thorpe, Aisthorpe	Healfdene the priest	The king	Swein	0.13
371:68,39	Ulceby	Hugh	The king	Hugh	0.50
371:68,40	Goxhill	Hugh	The king	Hugh	0.50
371:68,41	Newton-by-Toft	Iusten	The king	Iusten	0.38
371:68,23	Skillington	Karli	The king	Karli	1.00
371:68,29	Kexby	Leodwin	The king	Swein	0.75
371v:68,48	Nettleton	Leofeva	The king	Leofeva	0.63
371:68,16	Creeton	Leofric	The king	Leofric	1.00
370v:67,23	Dowsby	Osfram	The king	Osfram	3.00
371:68,21	Lavington, Little	Osfram	The king	Osfram	2.00
371:68,22	Keisby	Osfram	The king	Osfram	0.50
370v:67,21	Houghton	Peterborough abbey	The king	Kolgrimr	1.25
371:68,17	Swinstead	Regnvald	The king	Regnvald	0.50
370:67,1	Ewerby	Roald	The king	Kolgrimr	2.00
370:67,2	Howell	Roald	The king	Kolgrimr	0.50
370:67,3	<i>Burg</i>	Roald	The king	Kolgrimr	0.75
370:67,4	Evedon	Roald	The king	Kolgrimr	0.25
370:67,9	Austerby	Swein	The king	Wulfric	0.38
370v:67,22	Ouseby	Swein	The king	Wulfric	0.75
371:68,24	Colsterworth	Thegn	The king	1 thane	4.00
370:67,12	Somerby, Old	Thorkil	The king	Wulfsi	0.75
370:67,10	Newton	Wulfgeat	The king	Wulfric Wilde	0.44
370:67,11	Threekingham	Wulfgeat	The king	Wulfric Wilde	0.67
371:68,27	Thorpe, Aisthorpe	Wulfgeat	The king	Swein	0.75

English holding of tenants-in-chief

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
370:64,17	Claypole	Aldwin	Geoffrey Alselin		2.50
367v:57,23	Harrowby	Algar	Guy de Craon	Algar	1.00
368:57,47	Casthorpe	Algar	Guy de Craon	Algar	1.00
361:31,2	Gonerby, Great	Alwy	Walter de Aincurt	Siward, Alwy	1.50
346:8,34	Witham on the Hill	Asfrith	Peterborough abbey	Hereward	1.50
346:8,35	Barholme, Stowe	Asfrith	Peterborough abbey		1.00

346:8,37	Stowe	Asfrith	Peterborough abbey		0.56
351v:14,95	Burton Coggles, Bassingthorpe	Azur	Ivo Taillebois		1.75
341:3,47	Wainfleet	Bondi	Bishop of Durham	3 brothers	0.47
357:26,27	Heckington	Conded	Kolsveinn	Turchil, Algar	1.75
357:26,28	Helpringham	Conded	Kolsveinn		0.25
357:26,29	Howell	Conded	Kolsveinn		0.31
357:26,30	Laythorpe	Conded	Kolsveinn		2.75
357:26,38	Pointon	Conded	Kolsveinn		0.50
347v:12,48	Fulbeck, Leadenham	Deoring	Count Alan	Ralf the staller	2.88
35624,100	Hough, Brandon	Deoring	Gilbert de Ghent		3.38
358v:27,60	Huttoft	Doda	Alfred of Lincoln	Stepi	0.13
358v:27,51	Austerby	Doding	Alfred of Lincoln	Turchil	0.75
358v:27,52	Thurlby	Doding	Alfred of Lincoln		0.50
358v:27,53	Rippingale	Doding	Alfred of Lincoln	Turchil	1.96
368v:59,12	Rauceby	Edelo	Robert of Stafford	Ulsi, Osmund, Siward	4.50
368v:59,13	Rauceby	Edelo	Robert of Stafford	Turuert	0.44
340:2,34	Witham, North	Edward <i>cild</i>	Archbishop of York	Baco	Ch
354v:24,22	Edlington	Egbert	Gilbert de Ghent	Ulf	10.00
355v:24,76	Kyme, South	Egbert	Gilbert de Ghent	Tunne	1.75
368v:59,19	Metheringham	Ehelo	Robert of Stafford	Lefsi	1.00
363:37,2	Caythorpe	Englishman	Robert de Vescey	Eilric	1.63
352:16,1	Riby	Earnwine	Roger of Poitou	Stanchil	1.50
352:16,33	Elsham	Earnwine	Roger of Poitou	William	1.13
352:16,34	Cadney	Earnwine	Roger of Poitou		0.72
353v:16,47	Canwick, Bracebridge	Earnwine	Roger of Poitou		2.00
367v:57,34	Kelby	Eskil the priest	Guy de Craon		0.13
341:3,42	Tattershall Thorpe	Fenkell	Bishop of Durham	Godwine, Gonnewate	1.00
341:3,43	Scrembly	Fenkell	Bishop of Durham	Fenkell	1.00
348:12,53	Kirkby Underwood	Godric	Count Alan	Wider	0.63
348:12,54	Pointon	Godric	Count Alan		0.50
348:12,57	Harrowby, Horbling	Godric	Count Alan	Wider	1.00
368:58,8	Allington	Godric	Robert Malet	[Godwine]	6.00
365:46,1	Haceby	Godwine	Waldin the Breton	Wulfgeat	1.38
367v:57,18	Haceby	Godwine	Guy de Craon	Alfric	1.38

368:57,55	Boothby, Somerby	Godwine	Guy de Craon		1.44
368v:59,20	Willoughby, Silk	Godwine	Robert of Stafford	Osmund	0.75
12,90348v:	Quadring	Gyrthr	Count Alan	Turchil	1.00
352:16,12	Hainton	Hakon	Roger of Poitou	Oudon	1.13
35:16,13	Strubby	Hakon	Roger of Poitou		0.25
362v:35,11	Witham-on-the-Hill	Hakon	Ralf Paignel	Maerlswein	1.00
358v:27,55	Kirkby Underwood	Osfram	Alfred of Lincoln	Osfram	0.63
358:27,19	Stixwold	Siward	Alfred of Lincoln	Siward	0.75
343v:4,78	Casthorpe	Swein	Bishop of Bayeux	Turvert	1.50
358v:27,56	Avethorpe	Swein	Alfred of Lincoln	Osfram	0.50
340:2,40	Billinghay	Swein's two sons	Archbishop of York	Swein	6.00
343v:4,79	Stapleford	Thor	Bishop of Bayeux	Turvert	2.00
348:12,58	Drayton	Toli	Count Alan	Greve	0.75
348v:12,88	Kirton	Toli	Count Alan	Edric	1.25
352v:16,50	Hanworth, Cold	Tuold the priest	Roger of Poitou		0.38
356v:26,13	Hanworth, Cold	Tuold the priest	Kolsveinn	Frane	0.75
356v:26,14	Hackthorn	Tuold the priest	Kolsveinn		
348v:12,76	Gosberton	Wulfbert	Count Alan		0.75
360v:30,30	Counthorpe	Wulfric	Drogo de la Beuvriere		0.50
362:34,4	Barnetby	Wulfric	Erneis de Burun	Grim, Ulf, Fin	0.88
362:34,5	Thornton, Burnham	Wulfric	Erneis de Burun	Grim	0.25
362:34,6	Goxhill	Wulfric	Erneis de Burun	Grim	1.25

Englishmen only in the *Clamores*

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
377v:CK66		Ælfstan of Frampton	Guy de Craon		
377v:CK66		Algar	Count Alan		
377:CK33	Quarrington	Arnketil		?Bardi	
375v:CS39		Arnketil of Withern			
376v:CK16	Billinghay	Auti ?son of Swein	Archbishop of York	Swein	
377v:CK69		Gyrth	Count Alan		
375:CS9	Keddington	Siward Buss			
375v:CS39		Ulfkil of Asterby			

Lawmen of Lincoln

Ref	Place	Tenant 1086	Lord 1086	Lord 1066	Geld
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Aghmund son of Wælhæfn	The king		
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Alweald	The king	Alweald	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Burgweald (son of Leofwine the priest)	The king	Leofwine the priest	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Godwine son of Beorhtric	The king	Beorhtric	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Leodwine son of Rawn	The king	Healfdene the priest	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Svartbrandr son of Ulf	The king	Ulf son of Svartbrandr	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Swærtung son of Grimbald	The king	Swærtung son of Grimbald	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Swærtung son of Harthaknut	The king	Harthaknut	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Wulfbert	The king	Wulfbert	
336:C2,3	Lincoln	Wulfnoth the priest	The king	Siward the priest	

LORDSHIP AND LUNCHING: INTERPRETATIONS OF EATING AND FOOD IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN WORLD, 1050–1200, WITH REFERENCE TO THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY ¹

Mark Hagger

The Bayeux Tapestry shows the Normans dining, shortly after landing at Pevensey in late September 1066 (Figure 1).² It may be supposed, from the previous scene, that at least some of the food they are eating had been looted, even if the wine had been brought from Normandy.³ Some eat chickens while sitting at a trestle table assembled out of shields. The legend above them reads: ‘Here they make lunch’ – although *prandium* could also be translated as ‘breakfast’. To the right, others, perhaps the better men, dine at a table, drinking from vessels and picking up food with their hands, some of which is offered to them by a servant. Presiding over the table is a bishop, presumably Bishop Odo of Bayeux as a figure points to his name which is found above the next scene. It is not clear if the duke is also there. The legend above reads: ‘And here the bishop blesses the food and the drink.’ The placing and iconography of this scene have been the subject of some comment, and I will return to these issues later in this paper. But the image of itself reveals something about how food and drink were taken in the eleventh century. We can see examples of the food consumed. There are chickens on skewers, and a fish is on a plate in front of the bishop. Knives were used to cut the food up, and drink was drunk from shallow cups (the figure here is trying to blow the horn rather than drinking from it).⁴ The scene shows us the rituals of dining, with the food being blessed, servants preparing and serving the meal, and men eating in pairs facing each other.⁵ There is a sense of community here, too: ‘it is an expression of communalism and unity of group purpose by the “rightful” conquerors who are, with a consensus of spirit,

¹ This paper began as a presentation for the Annual Medieval Colloquium held at Gregynog Hall in February 2010. Thanks are due to the delegates, in particular Bill Aird and Dan Power, for their comments on the earliest draft of this paper. I would also like to thank Laura Ashe for her comments and suggestions, and Kate Waddington for the references to the anthropology quoted and noted here

² The D and E versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle both seem to agree that William landed at Pevensey on 29 September (ASC, D and E, *s.a.* 1066; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G. N. Garmonsway, 2nd edn, London 1972, 198–9). William of Malmesbury and William of Poitiers suggest the day before and the day after respectively (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 722; *Poitiers*, 168).

³ The Bayeux Tapestry shows, and labels, a barrel of wine on a cart when depicting the preparations for the invasion of England.

⁴ C. Neuman de Vegvar suggests that drinking horns were not used by Normans, which may explain why the figure in the Tapestry appears to be at a loss about how to use it (C. Neuman de Vegvar, ‘Dining with Distinction: Drinking Vessels and Difference in the Bayeux Tapestry Feast Scenes’, in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. M. J. Lewis, G. R. Owen-Crocker and D. Terkla, Oxford 2011, 112–20 at 114–15).

⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Cambrensis*, bk 1, ch.10, in *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, 8 vols, RS 21, 1861–91, VI, 183–4; *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, London 1978, 236; R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225*, Oxford 2000, 585.

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Figure 1: The Normans lunch after arriving at Pevensey: detail of the Bayeux Tapestry – eleventh century, with special permission from the City of Bayeux

embarking on a great endeavour'.⁶ And as someone had to order the preparation of the food, as well as organize the raiding parties, we can also infer something about lordship and the lord's fundamental function of providing food for his men.

Even a quick glance at this scene, therefore, gives the observer some insights into eleventh-century food, eating, and lordship. But this is a two-way process, and we can only fully understand this scene, and why it is placed in the narrative where it is, if we have an understanding of the symbols and motifs that influenced the Tapestry's designer. These may be found in a variety of materials, from royal *acta* to miracle stories. Some of the relevant themes and issues have been discussed by historians previously. For example, the link between food and lordship has been noted by numerous scholars. Fewer, however, have investigated the use of food and feasting to construct communities,⁷ and fewer still have looked at the way food and

⁶ M. Rampton, 'The Significance of the Banquet Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series 21, 1994, 40.

⁷ One seminal paper about food creating communities is D. Bullough, *Friends, Neighbours and Fellow-Drinkers: Aspects of Community and Conflict in the Early Medieval West*, Chadwick Memorial Lectures 1, 1990, but a growing interest in material culture and conspicuous consumption is moving this information into a wider forum (for example, R. Fleming, 'The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ANS* 23, 2001, 1–22). On the cultures of food there are also, for example, B. Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*, Basingstoke 2002; C. W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1987; *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron, Oxford 2006; C. M. Woolgar, 'Food and the Middle Ages', *JMH* 36, 2010, 1–19; C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *JMH* 37, 2011, 6–18. Archaeological excavations have been revealing what sorts of food were consumed in the Middle Ages (and sometimes how they were consumed) for many years. See, for example, C. Lee, *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals*, Woodbridge 2007; N. Sykes, 'Zooarchaeology of the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 27, 2005, 185–97; N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: a Zooarchaeological Perspective*, BAR international ser. 1656, Oxford 2007; *Les Mangeurs de l'An 1000. Archéologie et Alimentation*, ed. D. Rippmann and B. Neumeister-Taroni, Vevey 2000; and *Food, Craft and Status in Medieval Winchester: the Plant and Animal Remains from the Suburbs and City Defences*, ed. D. Serjeantson and H. Rees, Winchester 2009. For an anthropological perspective see, for example, *Food and the Status Quest: an Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenhövel, Oxford 1996, and Martin Jones, *Feast: Why Humans Share Food*, Oxford 2007.

its consumption were used to symbolize a person's or group's character or state of mind. But all of these need consideration if the lunching scene in the Tapestry is to be properly understood, and they therefore comprise the issues that will be discussed here.

'Food is a prime political tool; it has a prominent role in social activity concerned with relations of power.'⁸ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, food was central to lordship. Indeed, the modern English word 'lord' comes from the Old English 'hlaforð', meaning 'keeper of the bread' or 'loaf-warden'.⁹ But this connection between food and lordship predates the eleventh and twelfth centuries by thousands of years. The book of Genesis sees Joseph advising Pharaoh to store surplus food during seven years of plenty to feed his people in the seven years of scarcity that would follow. In the Bronze Age, King Nestor and his successors at Pylos reaffirmed their authority every time that there was a famine because they were able to supply their subjects with food.¹⁰ In the late Roman Empire, emperors bestowed food on cities, not necessarily because they needed it, but because the chosen town was important – thus 'these bequests reinforced the image of the imperial figure as a benefactor of the powerful'.¹¹ Christ, too, provided another (related) tradition of a lord feeding those who followed him, and his miraculous provision of food was supported by the activities of Old Testament figures such as Abraham and Elijah.

It is consequently worth noting that although English kings and Norman dukes did not act on so large a scale as the Roman emperors, they, too, used gifts of food as a form of patronage. Thus, for example, in 1107 x 1118 Henry I gave the nuns of Saint-Amand of Rouen 10 *modii* (about 90 litres) of wine each year,¹² and in 1129 granted the nuns of the Angevin abbey of Fontevraud 100 *livres* of Rouen, and 50 marks from England, each year at Michaelmas which was to be used to pay for their sustenance during Lent.¹³ The Norman kings also provided food as part of the salaries paid to the officers of their households. The tract known as the *Constitutio Domus Regis*, which dates from 1137, lists the daily allowances of bread, wine, and candles doled out to royal officials from the chancellor to the man who turned the roasting spit in the kitchen.¹⁴

It was not just kings who were lords, of course, and nor need a lord necessarily be a great man. Walter Map famously complains of his small household and their willingness to spend his money and substance feeding others,¹⁵ while Geoffrey Gaimar, writing c. 1137, has a story that clearly links food and lordship together, albeit on a very small scale indeed. Gaimar writes of a man called Cuaran.¹⁶ He had a noble character (and he turns out to be of royal blood), but he worked as a dishwasher in the royal kitchens. On account of his upright character he gained the patronage of the king and other great men.

⁸ M. Dietler, 'Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power and Status in Prehistoric Europe', in *Food and the Status Quest*, 87–125 at 87.

⁹ See, for example, A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday: the English Aristocracy, 900–1066*, London 2008, 133.

¹⁰ Jones, *Feast*, 190–1.

¹¹ Effros, *Creating Communities*, 14.

¹² *Regesta*, II, no. xlix, calendared at no. 829.

¹³ *Regesta*, II, no. ccxiv, calendared at no. 1581.

¹⁴ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 196–215.

¹⁵ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. M. R. James revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1983, 16–24.

¹⁶ Geoffrey Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis: History of the English*, ed. I. Short, Oxford 2009, 6–47.

Both the king and the knights gave him some of their own food to him: some gave him loaves, some slices of the finest bread, others roast meats and chicken which were brought up from the kitchens for them. He would have so much bread and other provisions that he himself was able to take two servants under his protection, and he would often donate generous presents of simnel bread, cake, meat and loaves to the servants in the rest of the household.¹⁷

Thus Cuaran became a patron and lord of others, in his case the two servants whom he could feed and protect, solely because he had a surplus of food that he could give to them.

Bonnie Effros has noted that by providing their men with food (as well as an appropriately splendid setting in which to consume it) bishops, who did not generally lead their men into battle, were given an opportunity to act as lords and to express their masculinity.¹⁸ Ladies who wanted to act as lords also had to find ways to adopt masculine characteristics. Providing food and feasts was one way to do so. When Ælfgifu of Northampton was attempting to build up a party in favour of her son in around 1036 she staged 'the greatest feasts' (*maxima conuiuia*) to persuade men to swear loyalty to him.¹⁹ For the most part, however, we hear nothing of queens or queen mothers providing feasts for their men, but as Queen Edith, Queen Matilda of Flanders and Queen Matilda of Scotland kept their own households, they must also have provided meals for their men and presided over them.²⁰

Saints, too, were generally absent from the communities that depended on their patronage, but they could still act as lords by feeding their followers.²¹ Often they did so by providing an unending supply of particular foodstuffs. St Modwenna, for example, miraculously prevented a small vessel of beer from emptying, while in a second miracle she allowed her erstwhile host to feed the king and his retinue from the food and drink that had not been consumed during her visit.²² Male saints might act in the same way. Like Modwenna, Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester continually replenished a jug of mead for his host, with William of Malmesbury helpfully

¹⁷ Gaimar, 8–9.

¹⁸ Effros, *Creating Community*, 28.

¹⁹ W. H. Stevenson, 'An Alleged Son of King Harold Harefoot', *EHR* 28, 1913, 116. See also P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*, Oxford 1997, 238, 243–4.

²⁰ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 108–11 (Edith); Orderic, III, 104 and n.1; E. van Houts, 'Matilda (d. 1083)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18335?docPos=5>, accessed 24/07/2011; D. Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *ANS* 4, 1982, 1–12 at 7–8 (Matilda of Flanders); L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a Study in Medieval Queenship*, Woodbridge 2003, 99–102 (Matilda of Scotland).

²¹ The following paragraph is based on a limited number of Lives, namely: *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi and Vita S. Rumwoldi*, ed. R. C. Love, Oxford 1996; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. M. Lapidge, Oxford 2008; Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. B. J. Muir and A. J. Turner, Oxford 2006; Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. R. C. Love, Oxford 2004; Geoffrey of Burton, *The Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. R. Bartlett, Oxford 2002; William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford 2002; Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. M. Powicke, Oxford 1950; Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. R. W. Southern, Oxford 1962; *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, trans. J. Fairweather, Woodbridge 2005; *The Miracles of Saint Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2002); Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, Oxford 1991, 22–4.

²² Geoffrey of Burton, *St Modwenna*, 110–14, 114–16.

providing the Biblical parallel for this miracle.²³ More indirectly, Dunstan was to take the credit for helping one of his followers to provide an unending supply of mead to King Æthelstan and his men.²⁴ St Ecgwine, on the other hand, provided a giant fish (actually a seal) to feed his community on his feast day (30 December).²⁵ It is interesting that these saints generally performed such miracles only while they were alive. Perhaps the bishops and abbots of the churches in which these saints rested did not want them to take too much credit for their own provision of food, which might be extremely burdensome, and which a lord would want to be recognized as stemming from their own efforts and with a cost to their own person or community.²⁶ Nonetheless, these miracles do appear to be related to the expression of ideas of lordship, as well as to the models provided by Christ, the saints and the prophets (which are by no means mutually exclusive), revealing as they do the ability of the saint in question to provide for his or her followers.

The types of food on offer, and the setting in which feasts were served, were also important. According to Michael Dietler, 'feasts are, in fact, ritualized social events in which food and drink constitute the medium of expression in the performance of ... "politico-symbolic drama"'. As public ritual events, in contrast to daily activity, feasts provide an arena for the highly condensed symbolic representation of social relations'.²⁷ Although he wrote these words in an article about prehistoric societies, they are equally germane to the Middle Ages, although it is perhaps the case that any form of communal eating, such as the lunch on the Bayeux Tapestry, or mealtime in a monastic refectory, could create an appropriate arena for representing social relations. On the Tapestry, for example, the bishop has a particular role to play; he blesses the food and drink, which also highlights his status and wider functions; the man serving the top table is kneeling, expressing his lower social station compared to that of the diners.

The social relationships that kings wanted to demonstrate and reinforce at feasts are obvious, and are illustrated in Gaimar's description of the feast (*feste*) staged by William Rufus in his new hall at Westminster in 1099.

Numerous kings, earls and dukes were present, and at the doors stood three hundred ushers, each one wearing a cloak lined either with grey and white miniver (squirrel) or with fine imported silk brocade. Their task was to keep back the rabble.... Or again in the case of those who had to bring in the different courses, both food and drink, from the kitchen or offices, these same ushers would escort them to prevent any greedy lout from upsetting, damaging or breaking the silver serving dishes.²⁸

²³ William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 128–30. The parallel is Elijah's provision of meal and oil for the widow of Zarephath (1 Kings, 17:14–16).

²⁴ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, 68–70. According to Eadmer, Dunstan had inspired Ælfgifu to such devotion that St Mary was prepared to answer her prayer. This allowed Dunstan to take the credit for the miracle, so far as his hagiographer was concerned, and allows Dunstan to take the role of patron rather than host. Malmesbury, however, makes this a miracle of the Virgin rather than Dunstan (*Malmesbury, Saints' Lives*, 194–6).

²⁵ Byrthferth of Ramsey, *St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, 286–90. The miracle is compared in the text to one performed by St Benedict; a comparison that Michael Lapidge does not find convincing (n.78), but which does at least suggest something of Byrthferth's intentions when including the miracle.

²⁶ Orderic Vitalis notes the burden of hospitality placed on the abbey of Saint-Evroult by Mabel of Bellême, and also the miraculous illness visited on her following the warning that she should desist made by the saintly Abbot Thierry (Orderic, II, 54). Similarly, while on their way to the battle of Maldon, Byrthnoth and his men were refused food at Ramsey and had to go to Ely instead (*Liber Eliensis*, 161–2). I would like to thank Laura Ashe for this last reference.

²⁷ Dietler, 'Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy', 89.

²⁸ Gaimar, 324.

The scale and richness of clothing and food demonstrated William's power and influence, the ushers keeping out the rabble emphasized the exclusive nature of the feast and thus the sense of community of those invited to it. The restraint imposed on the diners, who were prevented from helping themselves to the dishes by the ushers, was a further powerful display of the king's control over their persons and hunger. The importance of bodily self-restraint in front of one's lord is also one of the themes in the *Urbanus*, written by Daniel of Beccles during the reign of Henry II.²⁹

What was eaten, how it was eaten, where and when it was eaten all helped to create communities and group identities. As has been noted, the Normans dining together at Pevensey may have felt a greater sense of joint purpose as a result of their communal meal. William of Malmesbury, writing about the Cistercians, noted that many things about the order seemed harsh. While reciting them, he remarked that 'neither he [the abbot] nor anyone else ever has more than two dishes set before him, and lard and meat are reserved for the sick. From mid-September until Easter they never break their fast more than once a day out of respect for any festival, but only on Sundays.'³⁰ Nor does the food served to Cistercian monks seem to have been especially appetizing. One monk of Rievaulx famously complained that 'the food cleaves to my mouth more bitter than wormwood'.³¹ The Cistercian identity was thus developed through their diet, as well as through the colour of their habit. It is not surprising, then, that St Bernard highlighted the gulf between the food eaten at Cluny and in the Cistercian abbeys more than once: 'How can these monks be said to keep the Rule? They ... eat meat and fat. Every day they have three or four different dishes, which the Rule forbids, and they leave out the work it enjoins.'³²

William of Newburgh tells a story which makes a similar point, although the community involved this time was at the other end of the moral spectrum from the Cistercians (and even the Cluniacs). There was, he tells us, a heretic by the name of Eudo of Stella, who 'gathered around himself a deluded multitude, which closely followed him as the King of Kings'. One of the reasons for his success was that 'his adherents, free from anxiety and labour, seemed to be expensively apparelled, to banquet splendidly, and to live in perfect joy'. Eudo thus appeared to act as a lord to his followers. Their food, however, was not real at all, but supplied by demons.

That this food was spectral, not substantial, and was supplied invisibly by the demons of air, rather to ensnare their souls than to feed their bodies, is evidenced by this; that the slightest belch voided the repletion caused by such food, and then such insatiable hunger succeeded that they were compelled to feed again. Moreover, whosoever approached them accidentally and tasted even slightly of their food, lost his understanding from having participated in the table of demons and continued inseparably with this beastly congregation.³³

The food that they ate thus defined this community of heretics. It was unearthly food, unavailable to others, and thus exclusive; just the act of eating it was enough to make a person part of that diabolic community. And by eating it, these heretics

²⁹ Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin King*, 585.

³⁰ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 582.

³¹ Walter Daniel, *Ailred of Rievaulx*, 30.

³² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Cistercians and Cluniacs: St Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William*, trans. M. Casey, Cistercian Fathers, Kalamazoo 1989, 46–7 and see also 48, 55–7.

³³ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, RS 82, 1884–9, I, 60–3. The translation is adapted from that in *Church Historians of England* 4, trans. J. Stevenson, London 1856, 424–5.

condemned themselves in the eyes of the Church, so that the food brought them spiritual death in contrast to the life-bringing Eucharist.

As the food that was eaten at table was often locally produced, and was thus related to the methods of production found in that region,³⁴ food, and the way it was taken, could also be used to make or reinforce regional or ethnic distinctions.³⁵ The English drank from horns and the Normans did not;³⁶ hence the confusion of the Norman holding the horn in the lunching scene in the Tapestry. Other Normans, who had time to assimilate, might pick up English habits. Thus William of Malmesbury remarked that Bishop Osbern of Exeter, even though he was a Norman, 'was more inclined to behave like an Englishman in his diet and in other respects, and had no truck with Norman display'.³⁷ This was not necessarily a good thing. Malmesbury remarks elsewhere that in Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester's hall there was 'in the English manner, drinking to all hours after dinner',³⁸ and this same lack of moderation was blamed for the English defeat at Hastings in 1066.³⁹

Even amongst the English there were differences in the food eaten and the way it was consumed. A letter from before the Conquest complains about the habit of country women from the Danelaw who, while on the toilet, 'will often eat and continue to drink in a foul manner'.⁴⁰ Presumably, southern women did not share this trait. The food eaten by northerners, too, was different to that consumed in the south. Malmesbury notes, when describing Cheshire, that 'like most of the north, the district provides little in the way of spelt, and especially wheat, but it is rich in cattle and fish. The inhabitants prize their milk and butter; the better off live on flesh, making much of their barley- and wheat-bread'.⁴¹ But if the northerners were bad, then the Scots were even worse. Malmesbury noted that King David I of Scots had seen the error of his people's ways as a result of his upbringing at Henry I's court, so that 'he gave a three-year exemption from the payment of dues to any of his countrymen who was prepared to raise his standard of comfort in housing, of elegance in dress, and of civility in diet'.⁴² Gerald of Wales writes of the inferiority of Welsh food and dining habits: 'You must not expect a variety of dishes from a Welsh kitchen, and there are no highly seasoned titbits to whet your appetite. In a Welsh house there are no tables, no tablecloths, and no napkins. Everyone behaves quite naturally with no attempt whatsoever at etiquette'.⁴³ He makes a similar point about the Irish when describing Henry II's visit to the island in the winter of 1171–2, noting that the princes of Ireland 'greatly admired the sumptuous and plentiful fare

³⁴ William of Malmesbury adds notes on the agriculture, fruit and vines of some of the regions of England (in particular Gloucestershire) in *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 2, 222, 324, 444, 450, 466, 488, 494.

³⁵ Agriculture, food production, food and etiquette as ethnic markers have been discussed by, for example, R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, Oxford 1982, 159–62, and H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c. 1220*, Oxford 2003, 299–306, and noted in passing by R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415*, Oxford 1991, 139; R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: the Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100–1300*, Cambridge 1990, 21–2, 49–50.

³⁶ See above, note 4.

³⁷ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 316.

³⁸ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 426.

³⁹ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 458; Orderic, II, 246.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Lee, *Feasting the Dead*, 35 and n.117.

⁴¹ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 466.

⁴² Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 726.

⁴³ Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Cambrensis*, bk 1, ch. 10, in *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, 8 vols, RS 21, 1861–91, VI, 183–4; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, London 1978, 236.

of the English table and the most elegant service by the royal domestics. Throughout the great hall, in obedience to the king's wishes they began to eat the flesh of the crane, which they had hitherto loathed.⁷⁴⁴

Such comments were not made only by Anglo-Normans living in the south of England and writing about the other peoples of the British Isles. Peter of Blois wrote to Richard Palmer, bishop of Syracuse, in c. 1170, urging him to return to England. Part of his argument concerned diet:

Your mind has rejected the sweetness of your native English air, and all the foodstuffs of our land, and it has come close to the gates of death. Every sort of food and drink with us is safe and pleasant. Your people make the mistake of having a meagre diet, and they live very much on celery and fennel, which makes up almost all of your food. However, from these things a humour is born, which always causes a most painful death, and putrefies matter in this death.⁴⁵

Opinion was divided on the effects of fennel. While in England Peter of Blois suggested that too much fennel might cause death, in Spain it was thought that fennel could save a man from death at the hands of destroying angels, who would attack every seven years. Gervase of Tilbury repeats a story told by a Peter of Latro who had heard as much from these angels' own mouths.⁴⁶

Bread was a particularly important food, in part because of its Christian connotations. In 1220, Pope Honorius wrote of bringing Christianity to Livonia using a metaphor that suggests that Christianity, arable agriculture and civilization went hand in hand: 'The hardness of the hearts of the Livonian pagans, like a vast desert land, has been watered by the showers of divine grace and cultivated by the plough-share of holy teaching, the seed of the lord is blessedly shooting up into a crop, nay, the lands are already white for the harvest.'⁴⁷ And so, as Robert Bartlett has noted, bread became synonymous with civilization, Christianity, and the right way of doing things.⁴⁸

William of Newburgh also has a story that combines the issues of ethnicity and the Christian and civilized consumption of bread, so that eating bread literally changed 'them' into 'us'. He writes about two green children who came out of a pit near Bury St Edmunds during King Stephen's reign. The children were apprehended at harvest time by labourers working in the fields. They were then taken to the nearby village where the inhabitants looked in astonishment at these foreign beings and kept them for some time without food –although this seems not to have been a deliberate act of cruelty.

⁴⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland*, ed. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin, Dublin 1978, 96.

⁴⁵ 'Some Letters of Peter of Blois Concerning Sicily', trans. G. A. Loud, at <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/history/weblearning/MedievalHistoryTextCentre/Peter%20of%20Blois.doc>, accessed 01/04/2011, Letter (b).

⁴⁶ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns, Oxford 2002, 712–14. Fennel was also available in England. Sticks of it were thrust through a hole in the side of St Æthelðreda's shrine at Ely, with unfortunate results for the impious priest concerned (*Liber Eliensis*, 81).

⁴⁷ Quoted in Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*, London 1993, 153 and 352n and (from Bartlett) in Jones, *Feast*, 269. Augustine had used bread as a Christian analogy, too, in a sermon (*PL* 46, col. 835, quoted in M. Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, trans. C. Ipsen, Oxford 1994, 16–17). It suggested itself because of the words of Christ and the Eucharist.

⁴⁸ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 152–5.

But, when they were nearly exhausted by hunger, and yet could relish no species of support which was offered to them, it happened that some beans were brought in from the field, which they immediately seized greedily, and examined the stalk for the pulse. But not finding it in the hollow of the stalk, they wept bitterly. Upon this, one of the bystanders, taking the beans from the pods, offered them to the children, who seized them at once and ate them with pleasure. By this food they were supported for many months until they learned the use of bread. At length, by degrees, they changed their original colour, through the natural effect of our food (*ciborum nostrorum*), and became like ourselves and also learned our language.⁴⁹

Food was thus at the very heart of ideas of community and identity. But food could do more than reveal where a person was from, and to what group they belonged. Food and eating could also be used to infer, or expressly to say, something of the inner person: that is, their state of mind or character. It might be used to show guilt, in the form of the ordeal of the blessed morsel, at least through God's agency.⁵⁰ Further, a person's ability to eat in a dangerous situation, for example, when others had no appetite, might reveal his or her own lack of concern when others were beginning to panic. A person's ability to deprive themselves of rich food might indicate their concern to avoid the sin of gluttony and thus reveal their piety.

Indeed, it is piety that is most apparent in the way our sources talk about food in this respect.⁵¹ Isidore of Seville, writing in the Roman and subsequently ecclesiastical tradition that saw moderation as praiseworthy, said that 'He who is a slave to his maw and to gluttony kills both the soul and the body' and that 'Immoderate voracity is a vice, and only as much as is sufficient for sustenance and one's nature is healthy'.⁵² Both Jerome and Cassian had taught that gluttony was at the root of all other sins,⁵³ and it was seen as one of the eight mortal sins in Anglo-Saxon England. Alcuin of York blamed the Viking sack of Lindisfarne on the selfish behaviour of the English: 'some are inundated with delicacies and [feast] like Dives clothed in purple, and Lazarus dies of hunger at the gate', he complained.⁵⁴ Similarly, as noted above, Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis could explain the later Norman conquest of England by reference to the intemperance of the English.⁵⁵

While it is not at all clear that secular lords would have shared ecclesiastical, and particularly monastic, notions of gluttony,⁵⁶ it is at least likely that they would have seen the link between abstemiousness and piety and, by extension, sanctity. William of Malmesbury's *Life of Wulfstan of Worcester* depicts its subject displaying the required virtue – although always in moderation as ostentatious or extreme fasting

⁴⁹ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, 82–4, translation adapted from that in *Church Historians of England* 4, 436.

⁵⁰ See R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal*, Oxford 1986, 160–1. The story of Earl Godwine's death in 1053 provides an example of God's agency in action, although not in a formal trial setting: Huntingdon, 378; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 354.

⁵¹ On fasting and abstinence generally see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 33–47. For the later period see also Woolgar, 'Food and the Middle Ages', 14–15.

⁵² Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof, Cambridge 2006, bk 20, ch. 1, p. 395; bk. 20, ch. 9, p. 395.

⁵³ Noted in Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 82.

⁵⁴ M. A. Brown, 'The Feast Hall in Anglo-Saxon Society', in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Carlin and J. T. Rosenthal, London 1998, 3–14 at 11.

⁵⁵ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 458; Orderic, II, 246.

⁵⁶ Such as Hugh of Chester: Orderic, III, 216. In contrast, Robert, count of Meulan was censured by contemporaries for reducing the number of meals served in his household (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 736). For a discussion of the Germanic traditions of feasting versus Roman/ecclesiastical notions of moderation and temperance, see Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, 22–6, 57–9.

might have been a sign of pride. Malmesbury says: 'Except when he ate with the monks, he would always dine publicly in his palace, his knights sitting down with him. For he declared it improper and mean to gorge in private, while the servants grumbled. But never after he took the habit, and not for some years before that, did he ever indulge in rich food, but bade a long farewell to fat and flesh, except for fish.'⁵⁷

In contrast, the piety of Wulfstan's successor, Samson of Bayeux, could be seen to be lacking and it made him an object of scorn.

He was well enough educated, but put pressure on his belly by his lavish way of life, so much so that his contemporaries called him the 'Great Maw'. He would never leave unbought anything that was up for sale, if it enabled him to fill a gap in his maw with some choice appetizer. He would have served up to him a dish capable of holding a quarter of a sow and twenty-four chickens, on the theory that, when he had helped himself greedily from the middle, he could avoid reproach by sending away the rest or giving it to someone sitting close by.... He died, it is believed, of obesity, when his mountainous frame had to take the further burden of an old man's years.⁵⁸

Abbot Gilbert of Caen provides a second example. He was described by the poet Serlo of Bayeux as stuffing himself in private while he commanded his monks to fast, and as being so fat that he looked like a pregnant woman.⁵⁹

Food could thus be used to reveal the inner man or woman, although the outward appearance of Bishop Samson and Abbot Gilbert might also give them away. The two were, of course, linked in the medieval mind, which held that the external appearance of a man reflected his internal state. That was one of the reasons why the wearing of long hair and effeminate fashions by the aristocrats of the early twelfth century so offended contemporary churchmen.⁶⁰ As greed is a human trait, an ability to act against nature, to eat fish rather than flesh, or to abstain from alcoholic drink, could reveal piety or steadfastness of purpose.

We return, at this point, to the lunching scene in the Bayeux Tapestry. It will be remembered that there is a fish in front of the bishop and, if its position means that he will also be consuming it, it perhaps tells us something about his piety. It may be that the bishop is conspicuously fasting, so as to help attract God's favour for the forthcoming battle (that the other diners are eating chickens suggests that it is a feast day).⁶¹ As a result, we may see here the way that food is being used to symbolize the bishop's concerns or state of mind. That concern might also be seen in his blessing of the food and drink.

But the bishop is but one character in this scene, and the wider picture tells us about more than the bishop's character and concerns. The very fact that they are depicted as lunching is a symbol of the confidence and security of the Normans after their landing at Pevensey. They are not afraid of the English and are not threatened by them. The scene thus agrees with, and develops, the relevant part of the Song of

⁵⁷ Malmesbury, *Saint's Lives*, 108–10.

⁵⁸ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, I, 440.

⁵⁹ Serlo of Bayeux, *Invectio eiusdem Serlonis in Gilbertum Abbatem Cadomi*, in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols RS 59, 1872, II, 251–4 at 251–2.

⁶⁰ Malmesbury makes this point most clearly in his *Life of St Wulfstan*: 'men who blushed to be what they had been born, and let their hair flow like women, would be no more use than women in the defence of their country against the foreigner. No one would deny that this was shown to be very true that same year when the Normans came.' (Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 58).

⁶¹ Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, 47.

the Battle of Hastings, which notes the peace that the Normans enjoyed on landing.⁶² It is closer still to Wace's description of events found in his *Roman de Rou*, written in the 1160s and 1170s, perhaps with reference to the Tapestry:

Before evening they had built a small castle ... and made a ditch round it, creating a great fortress there (at Pevensey). Then you would have seen kitchens built, fires lit and food brought out, at which time the duke sat down to eat; the barons and the knights had plenty to eat. The duke had brought a great deal with him; they all ate and drank a lot and were very happy to be on land.⁶³

Examples of the use of eating or feasting to demonstrate courage, a lack of concern, and a sense of security (sometimes misplaced) for both individuals and communities may be found in a number of narrative sources. Thus we have the example of Duke William of Normandy himself, who, on the night of 28 September 1066, was on his flagship, the *Mora*, crossing the Channel to lay claim to England. After a halt mid-Channel so as to ensure that his army did not reach the English shore before dawn, William's vessel outstripped the rest of his fleet so that as the new day dawned the lookout reported that he could see no other ships. At once the anchor was dropped and, so that fear and grief might not trouble his companions, 'the mettlesome duke partook of an abundant meal, accompanied by spiced wine, as if he were in his hall at home, asserting with remarkable cheerfulness that all the others would arrive before long'.⁶⁴ In this situation, William's ability to dine as though he were at home revealed his calmness and confidence, and put heart back into the crew.

Wace's *Roman de Rou* apparently provides a number of other examples of this motif. After the battle at Hastings, Duke William 'had his tent set up among the dead, ordered his lodgings to be taken there; he had his food brought there and his supper prepared'. Walter Giffard warned the duke about the live English hiding among the dead, who posed a threat to his life. William was unconcerned. God, he said, would protect him, and 'that night he lay in the field and ate and drank among the dead'.⁶⁵ This demonstrates William's confidence and courage, while at the same time perhaps echoes both Psalm 23 ('Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies') and Lucan's account of Pharsalus, where Caesar ate and slept on the field of battle after his victory over Pompey.⁶⁶ Wace uses the same feasting motif to highlight Rollo's disregard for the threats of the French at Chartres in 911. 'The French threatened the Normans greatly and swore ... that they would be dead and destroyed if they were to settle in that region. The Normans listened quietly and tolerated this; they sought food and ate and drank; when they had eaten, they rested and lay down.'⁶⁷ Here, the Normans' lack of concern in the face of French threats, illustrated by their dining in safety, turns out to be justified, perhaps because the French saw it as a sign that they had defeated them.

Wace provides an example, too, of how the confidence demonstrated by eating and drinking might be misplaced. Reporting events that occurred at the beginning

⁶² *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow, Oxford 1999, 10.

⁶³ Wace, trans. Burgess, 164. As noted above, the Bayeux Tapestry shows wine in a large barrel on the back of a wagon (see note 3 above).

⁶⁴ *Poitiers*, 112.

⁶⁵ Wace, trans. Burgess, 191–2.

⁶⁶ Psalms, 23.5; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, bk. 7, ll. 792–6; Lucan, *The Civil War, Books 1–10 (Pharsalia)*, ed. T. E. Page et al. with an English translation by J. D. Duff, London 1928, 426–9; Lucan, *Civil War*, trans. S. H. Braund, Oxford 1992, 150.

⁶⁷ Wace, trans. Burgess, 30.

of 1054, Wace tells us that the French ‘remained in Mortemer where they found good lodgings; during the day they devastated the land and they spent the night carousing, asking for wine, killing beasts, and eating and drinking in safety’. The next morning, however, the Norman army attacked and defeated the French while many of them were still in their beds.⁶⁸ Their belief in their safety turned out to be misplaced, but their feasting had nonetheless symbolized their confidence. Equally, the verse chronicle written by Jordan Fantosme in c. 1174 pictures King William of Scots outside the castle at Alnwick:

Next morning when the day dawns, the king of Scotland, with his helmet on his head, is out with a company of five hundred men, all of them saying to him: ‘Take no notice of the advice of cravens! Northumberland is yours, whether people like it or not!’ And the king of Scotland said: ‘Let us await our army, and then we shall launch a powerful attack on the castle. As it is getting very hot, my lords, let us break our fast.’... The king had stopped in front of the castle. His men-at-arms bring him food with which to make a meal.⁶⁹

The Scots are thus portrayed as confident. Thinking themselves safe from attack, they prepare a meal. But shortly afterwards, the English ride out of the mist and capture the king. A final example is provided by the Bayeux Tapestry which shows Harold dining in a hall before his crossing to the Continent. In contrast to that of the lunching Normans, Harold’s confidence in his mission, which is clearly linked to the meal by a departing diner, turns out to be misplaced.

The lunching scene in the Tapestry is thus placed, and intended, to highlight the lack of opposition faced by the Normans on landing at Pevensey, and their resulting security and confidence. In this it is related to the pillaging scene that precedes it. And so, although Martha Rampton has argued recently that the scene is ‘positioned in the wrong place’,⁷⁰ its location in the narrative is quite logical. Rampton also objected that ‘feasting before battle was not a traditional military or social practice, and as a motif seems out of place, located as it is before the fight – especially since it interrupts the compositional tension leading towards the engagement’.⁷¹ Both of these further points are also debateable. First, the Normans are not feasting but lunching, and the definition of the word provided by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, and thus almost certainly known to the designer of the Tapestry,⁷² makes it clear that lunching before battle *was* a common practice: ‘Lunch is named for the “preparations for eating”’. Hence the ancients properly called the food for all the soldiers before battle “lunch”. Hence the exhortation of the general, “Let us eat lunch like men about to dine in the infernal regions”.’⁷³ Secondly, the scene does not interrupt the compositional tension. When the lunching scene appears, the battle itself is still some way off. The castle at Hastings has still to be constructed (in the

⁶⁸ Wace, trans. Burgess, 145. Similar, perhaps, is a story in Gaimar which has a disguised Hereward attacking the Normans as they eat their meal (Gaimar, 298–301).

⁶⁹ Jordan Fantosme, *Jordan Fantosme’s Chronicle*, ed. R. C. Johnston, Oxford 1981, 131 (stanzas 185–7).

⁷⁰ Rampton, ‘The Significance of the Banquet Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry’, 38.

⁷¹ Rampton, ‘The Significance of the Banquet Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry’, 39.

⁷² For the use of the *Etymologies*, albeit particularly with regard to concepts of law and custom, see M. Hagger, ‘Secular Law and Custom in Ducal Normandy, c. 1000–1144’, *Speculum* 85, 2010, 831–3 and n.22.

⁷³ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, bk. 20, ch.2, pp.395–6.

next scene), and the shift to the account of the battle proper commences only after a break in the flow of the narrative which is punctuated by a group of three trees.⁷⁴

Having raised these objections, however, Rampton had to explain why the lunching scene was placed where it was, and she did this by proposing that the lunch was a Eucharistic viaticum before the battle. 'This meal is meant to image more than just a lunch; it connotes the feast of the Eucharist ... It is tempting and, I think, plausible, to interpret the feast scene as an elaborated representation of the Conqueror's reception of the blood and body of Christ accompanied by the clergy's prayers as reported in *Gesta Guillelmi*.'⁷⁵ Using the *Gesta* to explain the scene, however, assumes that the two narratives are connected, and it is not clear that this is the case. Further, if this were a Mass, why does the legend above the scene not reflect that? It would have been easy to write 'Here the bishop celebrates Mass' or even 'Here the bishop blesses the bread and wine'. To write specifically that the bishop 'blesses the food and drink' seems to make it clear that he is doing no more than saying grace before the meal.

The idea that the scene depicts a Mass may have been influenced by the related argument that the part of the scene which sees the bishop blessing the food and drink is based on a representation of the Last Supper. The theory was first proposed by Laura Hibbard Loomis in 1927, and was followed by N. P. Brooks and the late H. E. Walker in 1978 when they asserted that 'there can be no doubt that the artist was copying a representation of the Last Supper showing both the institution of the Eucharist and the Indication of the Betrayal by Judas'.⁷⁶ That 'representation' is taken to be a small frame in a sixth-century gospel book owned by the abbey of St Augustine at Canterbury, even if it came to the designer of the Tapestry only indirectly. But there *is* considerable room for doubt that this is the case. The borrowing is by no means clear. The layout and gestures of the figures in the Canterbury manuscript do not seem to be closely related to those populating the scene in the Tapestry, and the chalice that should be before the bishop has been replaced by a fish (albeit that this is another Christian symbol).

Moreover, it is possible to find other illustrations from the eleventh century that seem to have a much closer relationship to the lunching scene in the Tapestry, suggesting that other models were available to the English or French designer, whose knowledge of exemplars was not, presumably, limited to the books available at St Augustine's. Two or three potential models are found in the third of the four volumes that together comprise the Bible of Rodes, which probably dates from the third quarter of the eleventh century, and which was perhaps made at the monastery of Ripoll in Catalonia.⁷⁷ Semi-circular tables appear here in illustrations of Old

⁷⁴ Cowdrey talks of the trees as punctuation (H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Towards an Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *ANS* 10, 1988, 60) as do W. Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Monument to a Norman Triumph*, Munich, London and New York 1994, 68–9, and L. Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, trans. R. Rex, Woodbridge 2005, 71.

⁷⁵ Rampton, 'The Significance of the Banquet Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry', 42. The mass is at *Poitiers*, 124.

⁷⁶ L. H. Loomis, 'The Table of the Last Supper in Religious and Secular Iconography', *Art Studies (American Journal of Archaeology)* 5, 1927, 71–90; N. P. Brooks and H. E. Walker, 'The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *ANS* 1, 1979, 15 and see Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 30–2 and C. Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Life Story of a Masterpiece*, London 2006, 14.

⁷⁷ Paris, BN, MS latin 6 (3). The bible is in four volumes, with volume 4 being perhaps a little later in date than the others. The illustrations in question are found in vol 3, at fos. 66r (Balshazzar's feast from Daniel 5:1–6), 97r (feasts of Ahasuerus and Vasthi from Esther 1:3–9), and 127r (the marriage of Tobias and Sarah from the apocryphal Book of Tobit). Images of the illuminated folios from all four volumes

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Figure 2. Paris, BN, MS latin 6 (3), fo. 66r; Balshazzar's feast

Testament feasts. The knives, cups, and dishes on the tables in the relevant scenes resemble those found in the Bayeux Tapestry. Servants, including one kneeling to the left of the image of Balshazzar's feast, hold bowls and gourds, while the diners hold cups and reach for food (Figure 2). The gestures and attitudes of the people inhabiting these scenes are thus similar to those found on the Tapestry, too. It might also be noted that the queens in the manuscript are depicted in a way that is remarkably like the portrait of Queen Emma in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.⁷⁸ It is no surprise, then, that the influence of this manuscript, or one that looked like it, on the designer of the Tapestry has already been suggested by, for example, Wolfgang Grape and Dan Terkla.⁷⁹ That no clear link between the Tapestry and this particular manuscript can be conclusively demonstrated is not important. What matters is that alternative models were circulating at the time the Tapestry was made.

The wealth of alternative exemplars is also revealed in the cycles of illustrations referred to by Brooks and Walker. They noted the Last Supper scenes found in the cycle attached to the late twelfth-century Paris Psalter and another, now detached, which might have originally formed part of the Eadwine Psalter or its exemplar. Both are thus associated with Canterbury and 'both cycles include a Last Supper with Judas shown before the table, like the servant in the Bayeux Tapestry'.⁸⁰ Brooks and Walker did not note, however, that there are twelve other scenes in the detached cycle that depict people eating at table,⁸¹ and that a number of them, such as that

– not just those noted here – are available online via the BN's Mandragore website (<http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>).

⁷⁸ London, BL, Additional MS 33241, fo. 1v.

⁷⁹ Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 50–1; D. Terkla, 'From Hastingus to Hastings and Beyond', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*, ed. M. K. Foy, K. E. Overbey and D. Terkla, Woodbridge 2009, 141–57 at 150.

⁸⁰ Brooks and Walker, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry*, 16.

⁸¹ The detached leaves are illustrated in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. W. Pfaff, London 1992, plates 7–14.

illustrating the story of Dives and Lazarus, also have a kneeling servant below the middle of the table, echoing the one in the lunching scene.⁸²

There is consequently no strong reason to suppose either that a Last Supper provided the model – or at least the sole model – for the lunching scene in the Tapestry, or that the exemplar for the scene was found in a Canterbury manuscript. Indeed, it seems most likely that the scene was a conflation of more than one model, perhaps with a bishop added to a royal feasting scene. And some of the stories which are illustrated in a similar manner to the lunching scene on the Tapestry in the Bible of Rodes might well have suggested themselves to the Tapestry's designer as he was looking for models, due to their content. Queen Vashti, for example, although commanded to attend King Ahasuerus's feast had refused to do so, just as Harold Godwineson had refused to join Duke William's party after Edward the Confessor's death in accordance with his earlier oath. The queen found herself deposed as a result.⁸³ At Balshazzar's feast, the king had ordered the use of the gold and silver vessels that his father had looted from the temple at Jerusalem,⁸⁴ just as William's army was eating food that had been looted from the area around Pevensey – as the Tapestry shows. Indeed, is the figure pointing to Odo's name intended to evoke a reference to that same Biblical feast with its attendant writing on the wall? If so, it would suggest that the Tapestry was made after Odo's fall in 1082 or 1083, and that the bishop, if he were the patron, was suitably humbled by the experience.⁸⁵

The lunching scene in the Bayeux Tapestry should be understood with reference to the ideas about food and eating that circulated at the end of the eleventh century and afterwards. Lords had to feed their men, and the image shows Duke William or Bishop Odo doing just that. This was perhaps the primary function of a lord, with the requirements to enforce law and order and to protect the land from enemy attack following from the need to protect the food supply. Nor need this surprise. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, food was scarce. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions four famines between 1066 and 1135,⁸⁶ and still more frequently mentions the detrimental effect of the weather on the crops even if the ensuing shortages fell short of famines.⁸⁷ The chronicler, it seems, always had one eye on the food supply. The ability to feed people was valuable and allowed a man to rise above his peers and to become a lord. Thus even a landless man could become a lord if he had access to surplus food, and women, bishops, and saints of both sexes could use their ability to provision their household or followers as a means of expressing their lordship.

⁸² New York, Morgan Pierrepont Library, MS Morgan 521r; in *The Eadwine Psalter*, plate 11. In this regard it might also be noted that Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 32, suggested that the scene might be based on images of the wedding at Cana.

⁸³ Esther, 1.3–9.

⁸⁴ Daniel, 5.2–3.

⁸⁵ The writing was interpreted by Daniel as meaning that God 'hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it', that Balshazzar had been 'weighed in the balances, and art found wanting' and that 'thy kingdom is divided'. A similar interpretation would also be appropriate to Odo's position after his arrest in 1082 or 1083 or after his rebellion against William Rufus in 1088. The fact that Odo presides at the lunch, rather than Duke William, suggests that the story is not intended to reflect the division of the king's lands between Robert Curthose and William II after his death in 1087.

⁸⁶ ASC D, s.a. 1070; E, s.a. 1082, 1087, 1096; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Garmonsway, 204, 214, 217, 233.

⁸⁷ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, E, s.a. 1086, 1089, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1103, 1105, 1110, 1111, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1124, 1125, 1131; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Garmonsway, 217, 225, 232, 234, 238, 240, 242, 243, 246, 247, 254, 256, 261.

The Normans of the Bayeux Tapestry were also a community. Communal eating helped to build and consolidate the bonds that bound these men together, and also reinforced the hierarchy that existed among them. Again, this is a wider theme, with the narrative sources using food and diet to indicate religious, or diabolical, orders or ethnic origins. As simple an act as eating could therefore indicate where a person was from, and to whom he belonged, but it could equally be used to demonstrate nonchalance in the face of danger, or security in the face of the enemy. The lunching scene on the Tapestry does this, too, with the Normans dining unafraid in their castle at Pevensey in the hours immediately following their invasion. It is one of just a handful of examples of this motif, however. Food and eating are much more commonly used in this way to demonstrate an individual's abstemiousness, self-control, and piety. Food, then, like hair or posture, was part of the rich symbolism of the medieval mental landscape, so that in the Anglo-Norman world an individual really was what he or she ate – and, indeed, how and when they ate it.

THE EXCHEQUER CLOTH, c. 1176–1832: THE CALCULATOR, THE GAME OF CHESS, AND THE PROCESS OF PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY

S. D. Church

Richard fitzNigel, in his *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, composed in the dozen or so years between 1177 and 1189,¹ wrote of the Exchequer the following words:

The exchequer is a rectangular board, about ten feet long and five feet wide, which those sitting around it use like a table. It has a raised edge about four finger-widths high, so that nothing placed on it can fall off. Over this aforementioned exchequer is placed a cloth bought during the Easter Term, not an ordinary cloth, but black, marked with lines a foot or a spread hand's width apart.

It was from this cloth that the Exchequer took its name,² patterned, fitzNigel tells us, like a chessboard, hence *scaccarium*, and like the game of chess, the cloth took the role of the battleground on which combat was joined between the sheriff, who was there to defend his accounts, and the treasurer, who was there to interrogate the sheriff on the ways in which he had administered the king's money in his county.³ The look of the cloth ought to be easy to determine, therefore: it must surely have been chequered with squares of alternate colours. Richard fitzNigel's description of it as being 'not an ordinary cloth, but black, marked with lines a foot or a spread hand's width apart' does not make the cloth sound chequered at all, however. Hubert Hall, in the nineteenth century, was unconvinced that a counting board would work with chequered cloth, and the first modern editors of the *Dialogus* took the same view.⁴ Late in the twentieth century, in what is still the most important work on the

¹ Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario, and the Constitutio Domus Regis*, ed. E. Amt and S. D. Church, Oxford 2007, xviii–xx, building on H. G. Richardson, 'Richard fitz Neal and the *Dialogus de Scaccario*', *EHR* 43, 1928, 161–71, 321–40. The quotation is from *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 2007, 8–9. This essay was written with the help of David Carpenter, Peter Crooks, Mark Hagger, Tom Licence, and Nicholas Vincent. The errors were carelessly crafted entirely by my own hand.

² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, xx–xxi. The Exchequer seems to have enjoyed its name from early in the reign of King Henry I (1100–1135); the first reference to an Exchequer can be dated to 1110 (*Regesta*, II, nos. 963, 1514, 1538), though it is clear that an organ within the royal household was responsible for collecting debts owed to the king existed long before that date (J. A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I*, Cambridge 1986, ch. 3; *Dialogus de Scaccario*, xlii–xliii n.26; J. D. Brand, 'The Exchequer in the Later Twelfth Century', unpublished thesis, Polytechnic of North London, 1989, 21–64).

³ Rhythmomachy (a complex game based on numbers dating from the eleventh century) used a double-sized chessboard, eight squares by sixteen, and which, in early illustrations, was also divided by lines on a solid coloured table. Like the chessboard, the rhythmomachy board came to take on the modern chequered form (red and white being the favourite colour pattern) later in the game's development, but this was not, it seems, the inspiration for the medieval counting cloth (C. Burnett, 'The Instruments which are the Proper Delights of the Quadrivium: Rhythmomachy and Chess in the Teaching of Arithmetic in Twelfth-Century England', *Viator* 28, 1997, 175–201).

⁴ H. Hall, 'The Exchequer Chess-Game', *The Antiquary* 9, January–June 1884, 206–12; *De Necessariis*

Exchequer to date, John Brand concurred, arguing that alternate black and white squares would have made it very difficult to see the silver counters as they were moved about the cloth as the calculator did his calculations.⁵ What Brand noticed, however, was that early chessboards were of one colour only with lines marking out the squares of the playing field. So the pattern on the cloth may well, in its early days, have been of a single colour with white lines marking out the squares and still be described as a *scaccarium*. Indeed, if we follow the words of Richard fitzNigel and his student more closely, we can see that our author was not especially concerned with the chequered-ness of the cloth for his analogy to the game of chess, but to the stratagems employed.

Counters are placed in the spaces in a certain way; I will discuss this placement later. But although the board is called the exchequer, this name has been extended, so that the whole court that sits at the exchequer board is called the Exchequer, and if any judgment is given there, or if anything is decided by its common counsel, it is said to have been done 'at the Exchequer of such and such a year'. They used to say 'at the tallies', but today we say 'at the Exchequer'.

Student: What is the reason for its name?

Teacher: The best explanation that I can think of at the moment is that it resembles a chessboard.⁶

The disciple is made to be dissatisfied with this answer by the author of the text and to inquire as to whether that was the only reason for it so being named:

Student: Do you think that was the only reason why our wise ancestors gave it that name? Because they could just as easily have called it a *tabularium*.⁷

All commentators have translated this word in a way that indicates its 'chequered-ness', but that translation simply assumes that chequered-ness is what Richard refers to. The master goes on to explain further:

Teacher: I was right to call you meticulous. There is another, less obvious, reason. For just as in a chess game the pieces have a certain order and move or stand still according to certain laws and within certain parameters, some ranking higher and some leading the way, in the same way at the Exchequer, some preside and others have seats because of their official positions, and no one is free to act outside the established rules, as will be clear from what is to follow. Also, just as in chess, battle is joined between kings, so at the Exchequer there is basically a competition and struggle between two individuals, namely the treasurer and the sheriff who makes his account to the others sitting there as arbiters, so that they may see and judge.⁸

Richard's fixation with the game of chess has been taken to mean that the cloth that covered the exchequer table was chequered, but as we can see, Richard says no such thing. What he actually says is that over the table is placed a 'black cloth marked

Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus: Commonly Called Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. A. Hughes, C. Johnson and C. G. Crump, Oxford 1902, 38.

⁵ Brand, 'Exchequer in the Later Twelfth Century', 218–20. John's untimely death has meant that this important work remains unpublished (P. Woodhead, 'Obituary: John David Brand, PhD, MA, FCA (1931–90), President 1980–1983', *British Numismatic Journal* 60, 1990, 167–70).

⁶ T. Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England*, 2 vols, London, 2nd edn, 1769, I, 160–2, 191, 193, accepted this explanation and further noted that in his own day (1666–1727) it was still the practice to lay a chequered cloth over the table of the court which went by the name of Exchequer (p. 160).

⁷ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 11: 'checkerboard'; *De Necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus*, ed. C. Johnson, London 1950, 6: 'draught-board'.

⁸ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 8–11.

with lines a foot or a spread hand's width apart' and that it 'resembles a chessboard (*quia scaccarii lusilis similem habet formam*)'. Its visual form was of a chessboard as chessboards were constructed in the last quarter of the twelfth century. And as John Brand noticed in 1989, twelfth-century chessboards were not always chequered; they were often plain and divided by lines, just as Richard fitzNigel had described his *scaccarium*.⁹

One of the things that mattered to Richard when describing the *scaccarium* was that, like the game of chess, it was a contest between two protagonists. Richard might easily have also pointed out (though it must have been too obvious for him to do so) that those protagonists were men of the highest status in society. Chess was an aristocratic game and an ability to play it was considered one of the essential knightly skills, a skill that was not expected of lesser individuals. Indeed, the ability to play chess was a recurrent motif of the courtly literature of the period. Characters such as Tristan, Lancelot, and Alexander were all competent players, and in the epic *Ruodlieb*, written in southern Germany in the middle years of the eleventh century, chess is made to represent the complexities of the negotiations with which his master charged the eponymous hero.¹⁰ *Ruodlieb* is challenged to play a series of games of chess, first with the Minor King's courtiers and then with the king himself, so that they might 'trick him in the course of play into giving away more about his missions than he ought'. Needless to say, our hero resisted the machinations of his host and succeeded in carrying out his mission successfully. What is interesting for the purposes of this argument is that the author of the romance – a person who was holding up a mirror to his own time – used what must have been a well-known game (chess) to explore a well-known topos (that of the battle of wits between two high status men).¹¹ And, moreover, chess playing had associated with it the qualities that made a knight good: 'cunning; calculation; the ability to bend the rules without dishonourably breaking them'.¹² The point has been persuasively made, moreover, that in literature the use of chess metaphors is more often 'iconographic than accurate'.¹³

When *Ruodlieb* first refused to play the king with whom he was negotiating at chess, his excuse was that 'it is terrible for an inferior man to play with a king'.¹⁴ When Richard fitzNigel likened what transpired over the exchequer board, he, too, expressed it as being a battle between two equals, the treasurer and the sheriff. Both were servants of the king, the one the king's keeper of his treasure; the other the king's appointed representative in the localities. In the second half of the reign of Henry II (when Richard wrote his treatise) sheriffs were often men appointed by the king from the ranks of his *familiares* and if not them, then men of high standing in the shires. The sheriff was no bumpkin-like minor official to be browbeaten by the treasurer and to be intimidated by the assembled throng of the king's senior household officials. He could, of course, be dismissed for incompetence or for some misdemeanour or even for political expediency; indeed many were. But these were

⁹ Brand, 'Exchequer in the Later Twelfth Century', 220.

¹⁰ *The Ruodlieb: the First Medieval Epic of Chivalry from Eleventh-Century Germany*, trans. G. B. Ford, Leiden 1965, 28–30.

¹¹ P. Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1500*, Oxford 1970, 35, 42–3.

¹² R. Eales, 'The Game of Chess: an Aspect of Knightly Culture', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, Woodbridge 1986, 12–34.

¹³ M. N. Taylor, 'Chaucer's Knowledge of Chess', *Chaucer Review* 38.4, 2004, 299–313 at 301–2.

¹⁴ *Ruodlieb*, 28.

not men of inconsequence; on the contrary, they were often men of the highest standing within the royal household.¹⁵ That said, when the treasurer met the sheriff on the board of the Exchequer chess game, he did so with the expectation that he would come out of it on top, even if these were well-matched protagonists.¹⁶

The cloth over which these two giants of the royal household did battle resembled a chessboard for certain. What was its hue? The earliest representation of the Exchequer in action that is known to us is one that purports to date from the early fifteenth century and relates to the Exchequer of Ireland held at Dublin. The original manuscript (the so-called Red Book of the Exchequer of Ireland, from which the image comes) was destroyed in 1922, when the Four Courts building was badly damaged during the Battle of Dublin which marked the start of the Irish civil war.¹⁷ It therefore survives only in three facsimiles made in the nineteenth century: the first, created under the direction of H. J. Monck Mason and published in 1818;¹⁸ the second, made from a copper plate at that time in the possession of James Ferguson, and published in 1854 and again in 1855;¹⁹ and the third made under the direction of J. T. Gilbert of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton and published in 1874.²⁰ This last facsimile provides the key evidence to the representation of the exchequer cloth in a medieval manuscript, but how accurate a representation of the cloth is it likely to be?

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ordnance Survey at Southampton was undertaking a project to make facsimile copies of medieval manuscripts through a process known as photozincography. The process had been brought to the Ordnance Survey by Henry James around the year 1859/60. Whether or not James had invented the technique, as he claimed,²¹ is open to doubt: he had a reputation for 'on occasion appropriating to himself the work of others'.²² But whatever the case, by 1861, the Ordnance Survey office, under the direction of James, had begun

¹⁵ J. Boorman, 'The Sheriffs of Henry II and the Significance of 1170', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson, Cambridge 1994, 255–75; E. Amt, 'The Reputation of the Sheriff, 1100–1216', *HSJ* 8, 1996, 91–8.

¹⁶ J. Green, *The Government of Henry I*, Cambridge 1986, 197–8, recounts the tale of the founder of Merton Priory, Gilbert the knight, who was, allegedly, 'the one sheriff known to have been cheerful at sessions of the Exchequer'.

¹⁷ H. Wood, 'The Public Records of Ireland Before and After 1922', *TRHS*, 4th series 13, 1930, 17–49; J. F. Ainsworth, 'Research in Ireland', *The Genealogist Magazine* 8 (5), March 1939, 249–55.

¹⁸ H. J. Monck Mason, 'A Description of an Ancient Drawing in the Red Book of the Exchequer in Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 13, part 3 'Antiquities', 1818, 181–84 (Drawing facing page 181); see also G. Goodwin, 'Mason, Henry Joseph Monck (1778–1858)', rev. Sinéad Agnew, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18275>, accessed 14/03/2012.

¹⁹ J. F. Ferguson, 'A Calendar of the Contents of the Red Book of the Irish Exchequer', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society* 3 (1), 1854, 35–52, between pp. 46 and 47; J. F. Ferguson, 'The Court of the Exchequer in Ireland (with a plate)', *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series 43, January 1855, 37–44; see also G. B. Smith, 'Ferguson, James Frederic (1806–1855)', rev. Aideen M. Ireland, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9321>, accessed 14/03/2012.

²⁰ *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 4 vols, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1874, plate xxxvii (currently available to view on the web at: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/museum/item.asp?item_id=5, accessed 03/10/2011); see also *Sir John T. Gilbert, 1829–1898: Historian, Archivist, and Librarian*, ed. M. Clark, Y. Desmond, and N. P. Hardiman, Dublin 1999.

²¹ *Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to 31 December 1874*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1875, 5.

²² R. H. Vetch, 'Sir Henry James (1803–1877)', rev E. Baigent, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14606?docPos=1>, accessed 14/03/2012. Vetch (d. 1916), as a Royal Engineer from 1857, would have known James personally and certainly used a private memoir by a Major-General Cameron (*Dictionary of National Biography*, x, 647–50; xx, 293).

the process of making a facsimile of Domesday Book by photozincography.²³ The first folios to be copied, in 1861, related to Cornwall, and by the end of that year, so successful had proved the process, that permission had been given for the whole of Domesday to be reproduced using photozincography, Kent being excepted because Lambert Larking had, at great expense, already produced a facsimile of the county folios.²⁴

The technique of photozincography had to be undertaken in good, natural daylight, and, for this purpose, Domesday Book was taken to Southampton by an assistant keeper at the Public Record Office. This assistant keeper, W. B. Sanders, submitted a report on the process of photozincography which is very revealing.²⁵ The negatives produced during the process, he said, not only produced a copy of the folio which was being copied but also all the ‘defects and discolouration even to the grain of the parchment’, making the resultant image from the negative ‘an unreadable mess’. Each negative had to be ‘duffed’ – a method of blocking out the ‘objectionable material’ – by a team of sappers and civilians appointed to the task by Henry James. Sanders checked the carbon print of each duffed page, picking up the more obvious errors, and having them corrected.²⁶ The carbon prints were then transferred to the zinc plates where Sanders checked them again, after which the rubrication was added by hand. The double colour was achieved by a double printing of the page.

The production of Domesday in facsimile proved a great success. It was undertaken at reasonable expense and its appearance, judging by sales alone, was welcomed.²⁷ By 1864, it was proposed, and agreed, to produce copies of key English historical documents by photozincography.²⁸ These were published between 1865 and 1868 in four parts.²⁹ Also in 1864, an agreement was reached with Sir William Gibson Craig, the Lord Register of Scotland, for the production of certain Scottish manuscripts that were deemed important.³⁰ These were produced in three volumes in 1867.³¹ By 1869, Henry James was claiming to have created a ‘special department’ within the Ordnance Survey with the duty of producing facsimiles of manuscripts of national importance.³² And in November 1871, manuscripts from Ireland deemed worthy of photozincography were being delivered to William Sanders at Southampton.³³

²³ This part of the Ordnance Survey’s history does not find a place in Rachel Hewitt’s admirable *Map of a Nation: a Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, London 2010.

²⁴ *The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1862, 7.

²⁵ *The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1863, ix–x.

²⁶ Duffing was largely given up by 1869, the technology having developed far enough to stop its need (*The Thirty-First Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1870, vi).

²⁷ *The Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1864, ix–xi.

²⁸ *The Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1865, x. Appendix 5, 79ff, lists the manuscripts copied.

²⁹ *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts: from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne, Selected Under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and Photozincographed by Command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*, 4 vols, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1865–8.

³⁰ *Twenty-Sixth Report*, xii; *Scottish Records: Copies of Correspondence Between the Right Honourable the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland and the Treasury, Respecting the Publication of Scottish Records*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1866, 6–7.

³¹ *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*, 3 vols, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1867–71.

³² *Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey and Topographical Dépôt*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1870, 6.

³³ *The Thirty-Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, PRO, 1872, vi; *Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to 31 December 1871*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1872, 7.

The printing of the Irish manuscripts in photozincographic facsimile presented the team at the Ordnance Survey with considerable technical difficulties. Unlike any manuscripts that had been presented to them until this point, the Irish manuscripts chosen for reproduction were multi-coloured. Each colour had to be applied by hand, a task which was undertaken by Sergeant Goodwin of the Royal Engineers and Mr Harvey, a civil assistant at the Ordnance Survey. The work was expensive (fifteen times the cost of reproducing a facsimile of an ordinary manuscript), but as Henry James put it, 'they are well worth the cost'.³⁴ Given that many of the manuscripts photozincographed in this manner were destroyed in the fire that consumed the Dublin Record Office in 1922, his words were prophetic. The following year, James proposed that the whole of the Book of Kells should be reproduced at a cost of £6000.³⁵

Designed as a palaeographical aid and cornucopia of important documents, the Irish series was the most lavish of the Facsimiles produced by the Ordnance Survey at Southampton. Manuscripts in both public and private collections were selected for reproduction and their owners encouraged to lend them to the Ordnance Survey office. The Red Book of the Exchequer in Ireland was one of the manuscripts that were selected for copying. Described by Gilbert as the oldest surviving 'official ancient record volume now extant in Ireland',³⁶ it was eighty-seven vellum leaves long and was compiled, according to Gilbert, 'in the early part of the fourteenth century'. Like its counterpart in England, the Irish Red Book had copies of oaths that officials were required to take, but in addition it had copies of part of the Mass, 'illustrated with a coloured antique drawing of the Crucifixion'. The Red Book also had a copy of Magna Carta 1300, some of which was photozincographed and the whole of it transcribed.³⁷ And above all, it had a drawing of the early fifteenth-century Dublin Exchequer with its various officers and, at the centre, the chequered cloth over which battle was enjoined between treasurer and sheriff. All three facsimiles show the chequered cloth; only the Ordnance Survey facsimile shows the pattern as being of alternate green and plain squares. Despite the fact that the hair on the heads of the Exchequer officials is also coloured, rather unrealistically, green, it seems probably that this is a true likeness of the colouring of the original manuscript.³⁸ The green of the manuscript may well be representative of exchequer green (the seal of the Exchequer was produced in green wax), rather than representative of the actual chequers of the cloth. We can, therefore, say with some certainty that, by the fifteenth century at least, in line with the habit of making chessboards chequered, the exchequer cloth was chequered and that it adorned the table of the Exchequer in this manner. But when might the cloth have become chequered?³⁹

³⁴ *Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to 31 December 1873*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1874, 7.

³⁵ *Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to 31 December 1874*, Ordnance Survey, Southampton 1875, 6.

³⁶ J. T. Gilbert, *National Manuscripts of Ireland: Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland from the Earliest Extant Specimens to AD 1719*, London 1884, 97. This is a reprint of the introductions to the folio editions.

³⁷ *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, III, plate 1 and appendix 1.

³⁸ Ferguson, 'Court of the Exchequer in Ireland', confirms the colouring.

³⁹ Monck Mason, 'A Description of an Ancient Drawing', 181. Hall knew of four representations of the chequered image in relation to the Exchequer, only one of which he referenced in his article (Hall, 'The Exchequer Chess-Game', 206–12, citing a Memoranda Roll of 19 Henry III which I take to be London, TNA E 159/14 (the Memoranda Roll for 19 Henry III in E368 is lacking), but I am unable to find even this image to which Hall referred). An image of the exchequer cloth does appear on a Memoranda Roll

References to the cloth of the Exchequer appear on the Pipe Rolls from the 1170s, the earliest being for the regnal year 1175–6 when four ells of cloth were bought ‘for the Exchequer of the barons (*ad scaccarium baronum*)’ costing 6s.⁴⁰ But no mention is made of the pattern that the cloth might have had. I will return to the evidence for the purchase of cloth later in this essay, but for the moment I want to stick with the problem of when the cloth might have lost its black hue and become chequered like the modern chessboard. One approach to this problem might be to look at it tangentially, through the lens of the man whose job, according to Richard fitzNigel, it was manually to perform the arithmetic of the Exchequer on the cloth-covered table around which the drama of the battle between sheriff and treasurer unfolded. Richard calls this man the *calculator*, who⁴¹

by the king’s command, does the calculations by placing coins on the table as counters. His job is complicated and difficult, and without him the business of the Exchequer could hardly be done at all. *Set nulli illic residenti conuenit ex officio nisi cui rex uel iusticia mandauerit exequendum.*

This final sentence is problematic. In 2007, Emilie Amt translated it as ‘no-one sitting there ex officio is allowed to do this, unless the king or the justiciar commands it’. In 1950, Charles Johnson had translated it as ‘but it is not the specific duty of any officer sitting at the Exchequer unless the king or the justiciar has committed the task to him’. In 1912, R. L. Poole gave a précis of the sentence as ‘anyone might be deputed for the purpose’.⁴² One can understand how each of these scholars came to render this clause as they did, but I wonder if we are missing a subtlety in these translations that is implicit in the word ‘residenti’. In 1711, Thomas Madox noticed that there were two sorts of men who sat at the early Exchequer. The first were those appointed directly by the king and who were its superior officers being ‘signified by the phrase *sedendi ad Scaccarium*’. The second were those of the ‘lower rank’ and who later came to be distinguished by the phrase *residendi ad Scaccarium*.⁴³ These residents at the Exchequer were mostly occupied in the mechanical tasks of receipt.⁴⁴ The distinction envisaged by Madox appears in the Pipe Rolls from the early years of Richard I’s reign when the clerks, in what was clearly another novelty brought in under the guidance of Richard fitzNigel,⁴⁵ began to record the fact of a man’s privilege of exemption from one of the exactions levied by the king with the phrase *in pardonis per libertatem sedendi ad Scaccarium*.⁴⁶ Perhaps, there-

for 46 Henry III (1267–8), London, TNA E 159/42 m. 17d, which is available to view on the Anglo-American Legal Tradition website at http://aalt.law.uh.edu/H3/E159no42/bE159no42dorses/IMG_0150.htm (accessed 03/10/2011). I owe this reference to the kindness of David Carpenter.

⁴⁰ *PR 22 Henry II*, 12; and for measures of cloth, see notes 57 and 58 below.

⁴¹ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 36; *De Necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus*, 1950, 24, *De Necessariis Observantis Scaccarii Dialogus*, 1902, 38, 75.

⁴² R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford 1912, 109.

⁴³ Madox, *Exchequer*, I, 197, II, 11–23.

⁴⁴ Though Madox did observe that two of its members, the assayer (smelter) and the knight silverer, on account of their appointments directly by the king, ‘sat as barons’ rather than resided as lesser men (Madox, *Exchequer*, II, 307–10). The best account of the early development of the Exchequer of receipt is R. C. Stacey’s introduction to his *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241–2*, Pipe Roll Society, new series 49, 1992, v–xxii.

⁴⁵ Richard remained as treasurer until midsummer 1198 (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, xvi).

⁴⁶ In his *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, however, Richard has yet to make that distinction, describing those who sat at the Exchequer by virtue of their appointments as *residenti*. But equally he says that those who enjoy the exemptions by right of their positions at the Exchequer should have them recorded by the formula ‘in perdonis per breue regis’ (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, 72, 74–9). This is indeed the formula used

fore, Richard's 'Set nulli illic residenti conuenit ex officio nisi cui rex uel iusticia mandauerit exequendum' hides a subtlety that might be translated as 'But it is not in the power of resident officers to perform this function unless ordered to do so by the king or justiciar',⁴⁷ in which case, the *calculator* was, like the barons with whom he sat, a man who received his appointment directly by the king or the justiciar and was, like two of the residents of the lower Exchequer (the smelter and the knight silverer),⁴⁸ treated as doing his duty by the direct order of the king or justiciar, rather than by the duty of his office.

Be that as it may, when writing of the *calculator*, Richard fitzNigel said of his job that it was crucial to the business of the Exchequer, and that without his expertise, the tedium of the exchequer work would be impossible to expedite and that he did his work 'by the king's or the justiciar's order'.⁴⁹ And yet when we go searching for our *calculator* in the sources, we cannot find him. A look at the references in Latham reveals that, of the sources consulted to compile the Medieval Latin Wordlist, only the author of the *Dialogus* uses the word *calculator* as a noun after Alcuin and before him Bede.⁵⁰ In the *Dialogue*, the *calculator's* relationship with the exchequer cloth was intimate, and yet nowhere can we find him. And he is certainly long gone by the time that Henry Fanshawe came to write his treatise on the Elizabethan Exchequer.⁵¹ What are we to conclude from this absence? Was it a task that was simply passed from person to person as it was deemed appropriate? Richard fitzNigel's words on the role of the *calculator* would suggest that he envisaged it as a specialized role that needed considerable skill to do it well. 'His job is complicated and difficult', wrote Richard. In which case, he ought to have appeared as a skilled man, much as the smelter did, whose job was also highly skilled.⁵² Was it a task that ceased to be required once Richard had retired? In the context of Richard fitzNigel's education – or indeed that of his father Nigel of Ely – the noun *calculator* is beginning to look like a neologism. If indeed this were the case, then it would explain

until 1 Richard I (Michaelmas 1189 and therefore mostly the accounting year of his father, Henry II) by the clerks of the Exchequer. See, for example, *PR 1 Richard I*, 25, where Godfrey de Lucy was excused a murdrum fine in Ongar Hundred, Essex (for notice of his status as a baron, see Madox, *Exchequer*, II, 314). After this date, however (in other words in the first full Exchequer year of the new king), the new formula was introduced, perhaps in response to Richard fitzNigel's realization that the old formula had a 'dishonest' ring to it (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, 74–6). Along with other changes in administrative practice (such as bringing in the practice of dating to the day each of the king's acts), this change in practice seems to suggest that the administrators who survived to serve Richard I used the opportunity of the accession of a new king to make much-needed administrative reforms. The privileges of sitting at the Exchequer were described by Richard fitzNigel (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, 70–92) and included exemption from murdrum fines and scutage. The new phrase appears in *PR 2 Richard I*, 33, 54, 109, 113, 114, 140, and in subsequent Pipe Rolls, helpfully indexed by the various editors in the index rerum under the heading *Scaccarium* until the last roll of King John when the council of the Pipe Roll Society took advantage of the reign of a new king to change their administrative practice to translate the index into English.

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Tom Licence for talking with me about this phrase. The translation is my responsibility, however.

⁴⁸ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 12.

⁴⁹ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 26.

⁵⁰ *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Fascicule II C*, ed. R. E. Latham, Oxford 1981, 242. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Conditum a Carolo Dufresne, Domino du Cange*, 8 vols, revised edition, Paris 1840–50, does not mention him. A search through the *Patrologia Latina* database returned 45 hits from thirty authors none of which throw any light on Richard's inspiration for the word.

⁵¹ H. Fanshawe, *The Practice of the Exchequer with its Seuerall Offices and Officers.... Written at the Request of Lord Buckhurst, Sometime Treasurer of England [d. 1608]*, London 1658.

⁵² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 57.

why the *calculator* remained unmentioned in any of the Exchequer material for the rest of the Middle Ages.⁵³ We could perhaps conclude that the exchequer cloth quickly lost the need to be simply a black cloth with white lines drawn on it and that it could take on the hue of a chequered chessboard without fear of confusing those who were attempting to follow the *calculator*'s hand movements as he showed the workings out of the account; in other words, the visual calculations came to an end soon after Richard fitzNigel left office. Hence Round could find no serjeanty of the *calculator* and hence Madox could find no person performing the role of *calculator* or receiving reward for the performance of his task. And one might add, that hence Hubert Hall was perhaps overly optimistic when he joined the dots between Richard fitzNigel's *calculator* and the 'dot-system' that he found in Tudor records (where, as we have seen, there was no *calculator*) to suggest that the process of calculating the accounts on the chequered cloth was continually practised throughout the Middle Ages.⁵⁴ In this context it is worth reminding ourselves that, although the Exchequer looks on the surface like a conservative, unchanging body, as Mark Hagger has noticed, in Richard fitzNigel it had a master who was not afraid to innovate.⁵⁵

Each year, at Eastertide, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex bought for the Exchequer the cloth that represented the institution throughout the whole of its existence.⁵⁶ References to allowance for purchases of the cloth under the sheriffs' account are present on the Pipe Rolls from the time of Richard fitzNigel in the 1170s all the way until 1832. The first allowance was made in the Exchequer year 1175–6 (when Richard was at work on his manual). The next mention of the purchase of cloth appears in 1181, when, by the king's writ, the sheriff's expenditure was acknowledged to the sum of 12s. for cloth for the 'barons of the Exchequer' and 2s. 6d. for linen cloth to cover the windows.⁵⁷ In 1183, allowance of 11s. 8d. was made for 8 ells⁵⁸ of 'burell'⁵⁹ for the 'barons of the Exchequer and

⁵³ He was not at the Irish Exchequer in the fourteenth century, either (Ferguson, 'Court of the Exchequer', 38).

⁵⁴ H. Hall, 'The "Dot" System of the Exchequer', in *PR 10 Henry II*, viii–xix at xix.

⁵⁵ M. Hagger, 'Theory and Practice in the Making of Twelfth-Century Pipe Rolls', in *Records, Administration, and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm: Papers Commemorating the 800th Anniversary of King John's Loss of Normandy*, ed. N. Vincent, Woodbridge 2009, 45–75 at 63. See also the still essential M. H. Mills, 'Experiments in Exchequer Procedure (1200–1232)', *TRHS*, 4th series 1925, 151–170, where she shows that the press of Exchequer business forced innovation in other areas of Exchequer procedure. We should not be shocked to find another example of the practice as outlined in Richard's *Dialogue* being amended to suit the needs of the time, especially one which was so time consuming.

⁵⁶ In Ireland in 1280 that responsibility belonged to a certain Henry the Marshal, who was paid £1 13s. for his outlay on the 'cloth to cover the exchequer' in the Michaelmas Term (*Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270–1446*, ed. P. Connolly, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin 1998, 54). Since the index to the volume is less full than one would like, this is a reference I would never have found but for the kindness of Peter Crooks.

⁵⁷ *PR 27 Henry II*, 157.

⁵⁸ Richard I's assize of 1197 established a uniform width for cloth of two yards (E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The English Cloth Industry in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth centuries', *ECHR* 14, 1944, 32–50, and reprinted in her *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, 2nd edn, London 1967, 211–38 at 228).

⁵⁹ Burel was cheap cloth usually bought by the king to clothe the poor and given as alms. The cloth was evidently rough by contemporary standards and associated with London (as well as Winchester), though the 'precise meaning of the word' proved 'impossible' for Carus-Wilson to fathom ('The English Cloth Industry', 213 and n.4, 214, 234–5). An ell was about 0.7 of a metre, so 8 ells was about 5.6 metres. A 'complete outfit: a surcoat, a coat, a hood, and a pair of trousers' would take 15 ells to complete (R. van Uytven, 'Cloth in Medieval Literature of Western Europe', in *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe: Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*, ed. N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting, London 1983, 151–83 at 151).

for linen cloth'.⁶⁰ Three years later, the allowance was itemized to reflect the fact that 10s. 'pro panno lineo' and 2s. 1d. 'pro linea tela ad fenestras',⁶¹ and the following year, the payment for the windows was explicitly said to have been 'ad fenestras camerae'.⁶² The following year it became clear that the sheriff was buying 10 ells of linen cloth for the windows of the Exchequer chamber.⁶³ Allowance against the account of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex for Exchequer cloth continued during the reign of King Richard, fluctuating between 12s. 6d. in 1193 and 20s. by the end of the reign. By the end of John's reign, the expenses for cloth had risen to more than 40s.,⁶⁴ eventually settling, by 1223, to 40s. 2d.,⁶⁵ at which rate it remained for more than two centuries, reference to the 40s. 2d. rate having been set in 7 Henry III (the year that the king took control of his seal and so marking one of the stages in his progression to his majority)⁶⁶ being made throughout this time.⁶⁷ Either 8 ells of cloth had risen in cost by over 300% during John's reign, or the Exchequer was ordering considerably more lengths of cloth for Exchequer business by its end than it had at its start. Paul Latimer argued that the price fluctuations in Exchequer cloth represented real fluctuations in the cost of low-grade cloth.⁶⁸ He may have been right, but by 1223 all fluctuations were erased from the record since evidently a fixed price for the cloth was agreed between the Exchequer and the sheriffs of London. Not until 1413–14 (2 Henry V) was the allowance raised, by the consent of the barons of the Exchequer, to 50s. 2d., half the cloth going to the upper Exchequer, the other half to the Exchequer of receipt.⁶⁹ The treasurer's Memoranda Roll for the same year gives more detail: by their sworn testimony, the two newly appointed sheriffs of London claimed that they had paid out in the previous year 80s. 2d. for the exchequer cloth, and, they argued, that a recent enlargement of the Exchequer had meant that the amount that had traditionally been allowed was no longer sufficient to make up the cloth that was now needed for the upper Exchequer and the Exchequer of receipt. The barons of the Exchequer considered the sheriffs' testimony and agreed to increase the allowance, though not by the full cost of to the sheriffs. They were to be allowed just 50s. 2d., meaning they were required to supplement the cost of making up the cloth by 30s. out of their own pockets.⁷⁰ The allowance was still set against the county farm at this rate and in this manner for the next four hundred and twenty years.⁷¹ Presumably, therefore, the burden of

⁶⁰ *PR 29 Henry II*, 161; recorded again in *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, 218.

⁶¹ *PR 31 Henry II*, 218.

⁶² *PR 32 Henry II*, 49.

⁶³ *PR 33 Henry II*, 39.

⁶⁴ *PR 14 John*, 23; *Pipe Roll 16 John*, 79.

⁶⁵ *PR 7 Henry III*, 129.

⁶⁶ D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, London 1990, 321.

⁶⁷ *PR 14 Henry III*, 98; *PR 26 Henry III*, 283; Pipe Rolls have been sampled at regular intervals and the entries for the cost of the cloth can be found in the allowances section for London and Middlesex up to and including the Exchequer term Michaelmas 1395 (London, TNA E 372/240). In the following term, the Pipe Roll was reorganized so that allowances were moved from the head of each county to a new membrane following the county entry headed 'Adhuc Item London' (London, TNA E 372/241).

⁶⁸ P. Latimer, 'Early Thirteenth-Century Prices', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church, Woodbridge 1999, 41–73 at 48 and 63, tab. 10, 64, tab. 11, and 71, fig. 5.

⁶⁹ London, TNA E 372/259, 'Item London' dorset. Oddly, reference was made to the roll of 10 Henry V in all future rolls for this change in the annual rate. And for a reason I have been unable to fathom, rather than referring to 7 Henry III, after this point, the clerks referred to the roll for 4 Henry IV as their *terminus a quo*. Even the Exchequer clerks could get things wrong.

⁷⁰ London, TNA E 368/187 m. 303.

⁷¹ For example, London, TNA E372/260; 267; 300; 325; 425; 575; 576; 577; 578.

providing the exchequer cloth to subsequent sheriffs of London fell increasingly on their shoulders. The very last Pipe Roll ever produced by the Exchequer, 2 William IV for the financial year 1831–2, has the following entry, still written on parchment, but in English rather than in Latin:⁷² ‘And to the same sheriffs 50s. 2d. money paid by them for cloth at the Exchequer as it was allowed in the Great Roll of the Pipe of the fourth year of King Henry the fourth and in the several following years’.⁷³

So what was it that the sheriffs were buying in 1832 with their allowance of 50s. 2d. for ‘cloth at the Exchequer’? The answer appears to be the same as it was in 1174–5: cloth that had come to symbolize the Exchequer. In 1866, H. W. Chisholm was commissioned to write a report to Parliament on the public income and expenditure of the kingdom since 1688. Chisholm had been an officer in the pre-reformed Exchequer and so was an ideal person to assign the task of reporting on the history of the national finances.⁷⁴ In his report to Parliament of 1868–9, Chisholm described the way in which the Exchequer had worked prior to its abolition in 1834. By the time of its dissolution, it had come to pass that two Bank of England cashiers sat at the Exchequer each day, ‘sitting in the office of the principal teller’ of the Exchequer, where they viewed the payments into and payments out of the Exchequer by the crown’s principal accountants. It seems to have been, by 1834, the cashier’s duty to count the money received and then to pass a receipt to the Exchequer teller who in his turn wrote out the amount received in abbreviated Exchequer Latin on a piece of parchment which was then

thrown down a pipe into the Tally Court, a large room under the Teller’s offices, notice being given to the tally officer by a clerk calling out “down” through the pipe. The teller’s bill fell upon the large table in the Tally Court which was covered with the chequered cloth.⁷⁵

Evidently the cloth that had been emblematic of the Exchequer as far back as Richard fitzNigel’s day (and according to him since the first years of the twelfth century) was still being bought and used when the Exchequer as a department of receipt was eventually wound up in 1834.⁷⁶ And the chequered cloth continued to be emblematic of the Exchequer Court long after this date. It is a remarkable testament to the longevity and stability of English administrative practice.

⁷² The last Latin Pipe Roll is London, TNA E372/575 (4 George II, 1730–1) and the first English Pipe Roll is London, TNA E372/576 (5 George II, 1731–2).

⁷³ London, TNA E 372/676 ‘Res London’.

⁷⁴ Happily, Chisholm was later to write an account of his life in his ‘Recollections of an Octogenarian Civil Servant’, *Temple Bar, with which is Incorporated Bentley’s Miscellany* 91, January, February, March, April, 1891, 33–50; 207–21; 394–410; 583–97. His son, Hugh Chisholm, became editor of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (N. Hamilton, ‘Chisholm, Hugh (1866–1924)’, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32404>, accessed 14/03/2012). Hugh would have seen his grandfather’s copy of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on his father’s bookshelves as he was growing up (‘Recollections’, 36).

⁷⁵ *Accounts of Gross Income and Expenditure, 1801–1869*, Part II, Appendix 13, 342, 345 (1868–69 (366) (366–I) Army estimates of effective and non-effective services, for 1869–70) Part I dealt with income and expenditure from 1688 to 1801.

⁷⁶ And in the same two-storey building it had occupied since the 1240s (*Receipt and Issue Rolls*, ed. Stacey, xx).

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Over the last fifty years Ann Williams has transformed our understanding of Anglo-Saxon and Norman society in her studies of personalities and elites. In this collection, leading scholars in the field revisit themes that have been central to her work, and open up new insights into the workings of the multi-cultural communities of the realm of England in the early Middle Ages. There are detailed discussions of local and regional elites and the interplay between them that fashioned the distinctive institutions of local government in the pre-Conquest period; radical new readings of key events such as the crisis of 1051 and a reassessment of the Bayeux Tapestry as the beginnings of the *Historia Anglorum*; studies of the impact of the Norman Conquest and the survival of the English; and explorations of the social, political, and administrative cultures in post-Conquest England and Normandy. Overall the theme that unites these studies is the interaction of the local, regional, and national identities that shaped the societies of the period.

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Cover illustration GDB, 253v, Whittington (Shrops), with the permission of Alecto Historical Editions.

Cover design by Workhaus.

 **BOYDELL PRESS**

an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF (GB) and
668 Mt Hope Ave, Rochester NY 14620-2731 (US)
www.boydellandbrewer.com
www.jamescurrey.com

ISBN 978-1-8438-3794-7



9 781843 837947